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ORAL TRADITIONS OF SEFWI

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BY

K. Y. DAAKU

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
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P R E F A C E

All interviews in this number were conducted between June and September 1970 in either Twi or Sefwi. I led most of the interviews in Twi, but where the informant insisted on the use of the Sefwi dialect, questions were asked by either Edward Nkrumah, J.W.K. Osei or R. Baffoe who come from the Sefwi Traditional Area. In all cases the interviews were recorded on tapes and transcribed in the language used before they were translated into English. As much as possible I have tried to make as literal a translation of the materials as possible in order to preserve the ideas and concepts which were put forward by my informants.

Because of the lack of written materials on Sefwi I have included some important published and unpublished archival materials in the appendixes. It is hoped that this will bring much information on Sefwi within easy reach of those interested in the area.

Because of large number of chiefs interviewed it has made it necessary to divide the work into two volumes. The first volume is made up of interviews from the Anhwiaso and Bekwai traditional areas, while the Wiawso area, which is the largest of the three states, takes up the second volume.

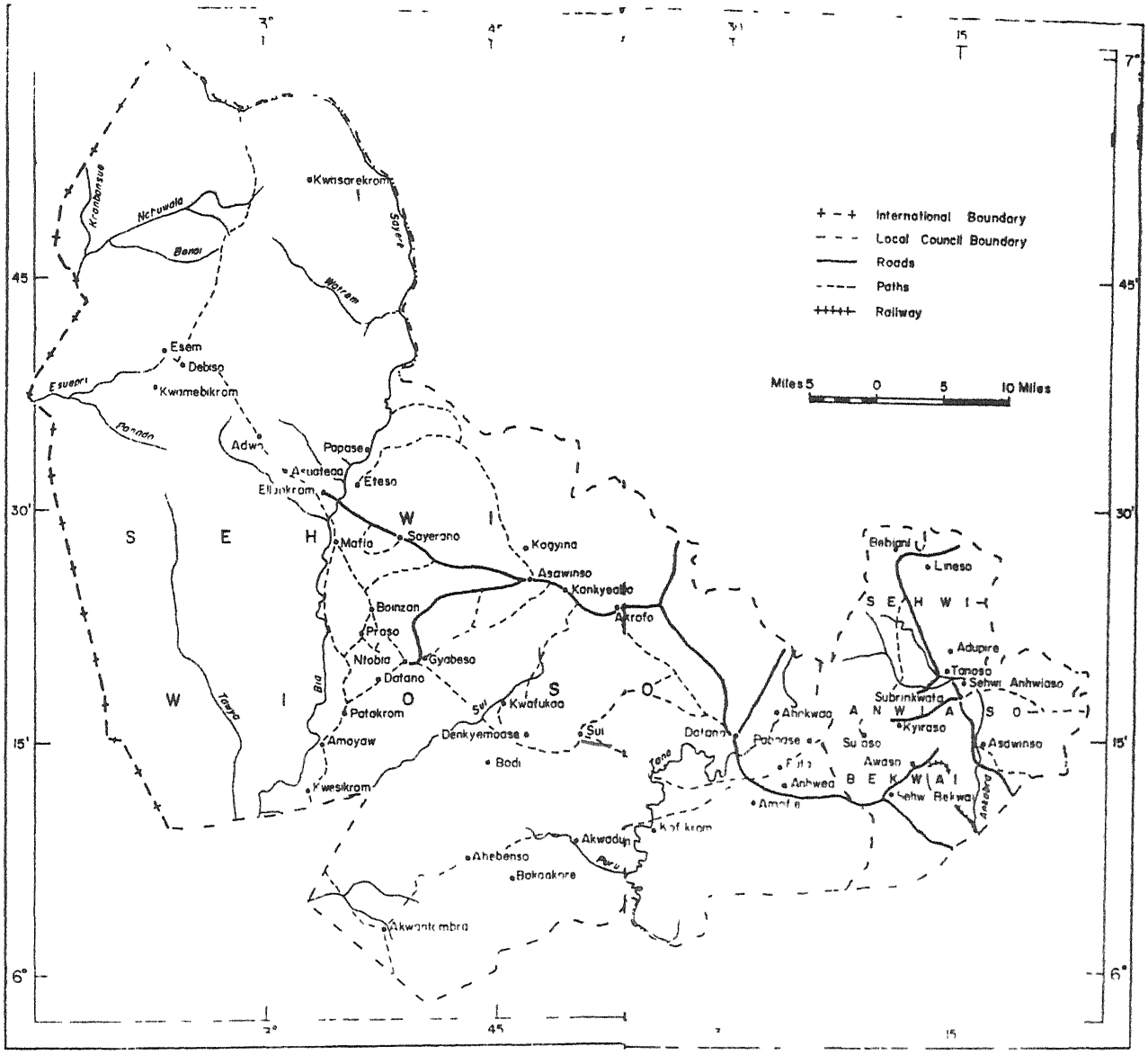
All the tape recorded interviews are available in the library of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.

I will like to express my sincere thanks to the chiefs and people of Sefwi for their kind cooperation which made it possible to collect this information. To Messers Baffoe, Nkrumah, Osei, Kwadwo Adinkra and Kwasi Daaku, who either accompanied me to the various towns and villages or helped with the transcriptions, I am very much grateful. It is my hope that this volume will provide some of the basic information for students interested in Sefwi.

Kwame Yeboah Daaku

Institute of African Studies
Legon.

November, 1973.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S E H W I
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B E K W A I

INTRODUCTION

In the extreme north of the Western Region of Ghana are three traditional states collectively known as Sefwi. Sefwi is made up of three mutually indepedent paramountcies of Anhwiaso, Bekwai and Wiawso. It is bounded on the north-east by Ashanti (Asante), on the east by Denkyira and Wassa-Amanfi, on the south by Awowin and on the west by the Anyi-Baule of the Ivory Coast. It also shares a common boundary with Brong Ahafo in the north. All the three states share a common dialect Sefwi but almost all the people speak Twi (Akan). In addition they have a common tutelar diety, Sobore, and a common annual yam festival - the Alielolie. *

Since the middle of the seventeenth century this vast stretch of territory has served as a centre of refuge for people escaping from the political centralization policies of their neighbours to the north and east. Refugees from Bono-Takyiman, Wenchi, Adanse, Denkyira, Assin and Asante found ready welcome in this territory. It appears that the Awowin rulers who formerly controlled modern Sefwi territory adopted an open door policy as a measure to increase the population of their state. Nor has the influx of people into Sefwi ceased up to the present day. Its virgin forest serves as a bait for cocoa farmers and timber merchants from all over Ghana.

* Another name is Eluo. See Wiawso interview.

EARLY HISTORY

It is not known for certain when the name Sefwi came to be applied to this area. The teymology of the word 'Sefwi' indicates that the state is of comparatively recent creation. Sefwi is said to be the contraction of the Twi phrase, 'Esa awie' or 'Esa hie' meaning 'War is over'.1 It is interesting to note that it was only in the early 19th century that the name appeared in the European records. The first mention of Sefwi, known to the writer, is in Bowdich. Before his time the early writers referred to the area as Inkassa, Inkassa Igyina, Great Enkassa or Encasser.2 In 1819 Bowdich mentioned a state of 'Sauee' as lying eight journies W.N.W. from Kumasi. Five years later Dupuis showed two states Safey and Showy on his map of Wangara. These states were located to the northwest and southwest respectively of Asante. 3 The latter state (Showy) which he placed between the Bia and Tano rivers may be identified with Sefwi Wiawso, whilst the former (Safey), although widely placed off its present location, may stand for either Anhwiaso or Bekwai or both. Perhaps the significance of Dupuis map lies in the fact that for all the time Sefwi has been known to comprise of more than one indepedent state.

Both written and oral evidence indicate that until the rise of the Akan states od Denkyira and Asante the most powerful state in the southwestern region of Ghana was Awowin. It controlled the lands west of the Bia. It was not until the last two decades of the 17th century that Denkyira succeeded in bringing Awowin under its rule. Even so the Denkyira victory did not much affect the power of Awowin since all that the victorious power was interested in was to obtain free passage for its traders to and from Awowin and to collect its annual tribute. The evidence would seem to suggest that by the end of the 17th century Awowin had not only regained its former power but had embarked on a policy of ecnomic and political expansion which was to bring it face to face with the rising power of Asante in the 1710s. Its control over the sources of gold and the trade routes to the northern market of Begho and the coastal town of Apolonia was one of the causes which led to the Asante-Awowin War of 1715. 4 By the beginning of the 18th century the wars with Denkyira and Asante had led to a loss of much of Awowin territory to the

west of the Tano to many of the Twi-speaking people from the east. Although the new immigrants were victorious in the wars, they seemed to have lost their language, which now is so heavily overlaid with the dilect of the Awowin as to render it virtually incomprehensible to the other Twi speakers. In spite of their linguistic affinity with the Awowin, very few people in the three states of Sefwi may be said to have remotely directly originated from the Awowins. Among such towns are Bonzan (Mainsea), 5 DaTano, Benchema, Kwodwokrom, and part of Bodi. 6 Although they do not consider themselves to be Awowin, there is no doubt that they were once a part of or under the Awowins.

PHASES OF SETTLEMENT

One of the problems of the researcher into the history of Sefwi is how to determine the various phases of settlements and migration. This problem is made more difficult by the incessant land succession disputes and litigation among the three paramount stools on the one hand, and between the paramount stools and some of the divisional chiefs on the other. All are however agreed that the Anhwiaso state was the first of the three to be established. Bordering on Asante to the northeast, it is most probable that this was the state, which was known to Dupuis as Safey. The traditions of many of the towns of Anhwiaso trace their original homes to southern Asante and to Brong Ahafo. The most important of these towns is Wenchi, the name of which is, at times, used to describe the whole of the Anhwiaso traditional area. Now ruled by members of the Asona clan who trace the home of their lineage to Ansa in Adanse, Wenchi appears to have been founded by people from Brong Ahafo. It is interesting to note that the Asona of Kesekrom and Ahibenso in the Wiawso area who claim to have come from Anhwiaso Wenchi, emphatically assert that their original home was in Wenchi in Brong Ahafo. 7 There is enough circumstantial evidence to show that people from Wenchi in the Bono-Takyiman area may have founded Anhwiaso Wenchi and named it after their old home. This is partly evidenced by the similarities in the yam festival of the two towns and partly by the traditions of Bono Wenchi which assert that early in the reign of Osei Tutu the Asantes sacked and destroyed their old capital, Ahwene Koko. 8 As a result of the destruction, the tradition continues, many of their people moved and settled in Sefwi, Awowin and Nzima areas. It is most probable that many of the refugees from Ahwene Koko moved into Anhwiaso Wenchi, the original founders of

which might have been related to them. Now enjoying the status of a divisional chief (the Benkumhene) to the Anhwiaso Omanhene, Wenchi has for a long time disputed the claim of the Adum-Aduana of Anhwiaso to occupy the paramount stool. To Wenchi the Adum-Aduana are usurpers. According to the Asona traditions of Wenchi they lost virtually all the male royals of their clan as a result of wars with their neighbours. In order that the necessary customary rites would be regularly performed they entrusted the custody of the stool to one Nipa Panyi, the eldest of the stool sons. Until that period their sons of the Aduana clan were the principal state executioners (Adumfo). Unfortunately for the Asona it took them a long time to be able to get a male royal capable of occupying the stool. But because of this long period of regency, and the love of the power which their sons had wielded they refused to hand over the stool to them and thereby, made permanent an arrangement which had been intended to be temporary. 9

The confusion in the Anhwiaso state is made worse by the existence of two rival groups of Aduana each claiming to be the rightful rulers. The chief of Chirano, who is said to be the head of the Aduana clan in Anhwiaso, and whose branch of Aduana is collectively known as the Sawua, maintains that the Adum-Aduana have worked themselves into a position which had formerly been occupied by them. The Sawua claim that they once lived at old Wenchi with the Asona, with whom they were only separated by a brook. Both the Adum-Aduana and the Sawua people maintain that they are autochthonous. Whilst the former assert that they brought their stool from their old home at Old Anhwiaso, where they emerged from a hole in the ground, the latter also claim that their ancestors emerged from a hole at a place near Old Wenchi. 10 It appears that the claims of both the Sawua and the Adum-Aduana are mere rationalizations to support a position which the Aduana have come to occupy not by right but by force.

The traditions of Sefwi Bekwai assert that the Anhwiaso people were already settled in their present territory when they arrived there. Perhaps because of the smallness of their number, Bekwai was not prepared to fight it out to capture land from the original settlers. This may explain why it is the smallest of all the three states. The Ekoona of Bekwai who occupy the Omanhene's stool, claim to have emigrated from Adanse, where they belonged to the royal family at Fomena. Owing to family disputes they moved away. First passing through Denkyira, Wassa and Nzema

they were later granted land near the Sobore River by Obumankoma, chief of Agona in Wassa Amanfi, then a vassal of thepowerful Awowin King. Sometime in the 18th century strained relationship between Bekwai and Wiawso, who had lately arrived in the area, led to a war in which Bekwai was forced to take refuge in Asante. They were however, later granted land by the Anhwiaso stool, thanks to the intercession of the Asantehene. 11

The history of Sefwi Wiawso is closely connected with Asante-Awowin relationship. Of all the three states Wiawso influenced by developments in the Asante capital - Kumasi, indeed the evidence seems to suggest that the vast tract of territory which Wiawso came to control was obtained with the help of the Asantes whom they faithfully supported after the Asante-Denkyira War. Like the other states, many of the people in Wiawso trace their origins to Asante and Denkyira. Here the important clan is "Asankera" which occupies the paramount stool. The beginnings of the settlement of the Twi-speaking people in Wiawso may be traced to the rise of Denkyira rule, eventually settled a few miles west of the Tano at a place known as Bauko. Together with the Agona rulers of Bonzan, which had once been a powerful Awowin out-post, the Asakyiri lying between the Bia and the Tano. But the period of Bauko rule in this area was soon to be cut short during the last phase of Denkyira imperial drive towards the end of the 17th century. From about the 1680s refugees from Wassa and Twifo came pouring into the area to avoid being brought under Denkyira rule. It was at this time that the modern state of Wiawso was established. It appears however, that for some time there existed a mutual working relationship between the Asakyiri of Buako and the new Asankera people who had lately arrived from their former home near Asankaragua, in the Wassa Amanfi area.

The foundations of the modern state of Wiawso are associated with two early rulers, Obumankoma and Nkoa. 11 Tradition has it that it was Obumankoma who led the migration of the people from Wassa Amanfi to their first settlement at Bosomoiso, by the Sobre. 12 It is not known whether it was the fear of Denkyira which urged Obumankoma on to move westwards. Not long after his settlement at Bosomoiso, however, the ever victorious armies of Boa Amponsem I of Denkyira overran the new settlement. Obumankoma once again moved and founded his capital at the strategically superior site on top of the hill where the modern town, Wiawso, stands.

By correlating traditional with documentary evidence one may be able to establish the period of the foundation of both the Wiawso town and state.

It is traditionally remembered that very early in his reign, Nkoa I, the second ruler of Wiawso, was presented with the Etwie drum by Boa Amponsem. (Although Wiawso traditions describe this as exchange of gifts, yet it appears that by accepting this all important drum from Boa Amponsem, Nkoa was acknowledging his vassalage to Denkyira). Boa Amponsem is known to have died in 1692. 13 It is therefore highly probable that Nkoa might have been enstooled around 1691. If Nkoa was the second ruler as Wiawso traditions assert, then it is most likely that the foundation of Wiawso state goes back not earlier than the 1680s or late 1670s. It is most probable that the Asante soon followed the victory over Denkyira with the capture of Wiawso and Bekwai. Asante traditions maintain that the defeat of Sefwi took place at the time of Osei Tutu. 14 From all appearances, the Sefwis soon learned to adjust themselves to their new situation. This enabled them to play a leading role in the Asante drive towards the south-west in the 1710s. Nkoa I (Ntwan) whom the Europeans mistakenly identify as king of Wassa, instead of Wiawso, was known to have played a leading role in the Asante-Awowin War when the Asante forces under General Amankwatia carried all before them to Apolonia in 1715. 15 In the Sefwi Wiawso people the Asantes found brave and willing allies competent to guard their southwestern frontiers against Awowin. It might be due to Nkoa's services to the Asantes in the war that Wiawso was allowed to annex much of the land west of the Tano, which had formerly belonged to the Awowins. It is significant to note that the traditions of Wiawso describe Nkoa I as the warrior king and credit him with the conquest of Awowin and the extension of their territory to much of its present frontiers. 16

SEFWI AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

Whatever the intentions of the founders of the Sefwi state in moving westwards from the centre of Akan politics, they soon learned that "War is not yet over" as they had hoped. They had to fight with some of their neighbours over land or fight wars for their allies and overlords. In spite of the traditions of early settlements in Wassa country by both the Bekwai and Wiawso states, their

relations with the former soon deteriorated. It is said that Obumankoma of Wiawso defeated Wassa (presumably Amanfi) probably towards the end of the 1680s. 17 Wiawso hegemony over Wassa could not have lasted long because Obumankoma was himself defeated by Boa Amponsem. To the period of Denkyira overlorship in Wiawso may be traced the influx of the large number of Denkyira immigrants, as testified by the many stools occupied by people of the Agona clan. Indeed, Denkyira political institutions were greatly copied by Wiawso. It is interesting to note that two of the most warlike towns, Amanfie and Bodi, trace their origins to this period. Although most of the stools interviewed in this area tried to play down their subjection to Denkyira, there is enough evidence from their war songs which lends support to the early phase of Denkyira dominance. It is not unlikely that Nkoa I of Wiawso, like Osei Tutu of Asante, learned much from the military tactics and political organization of Denkyira. 18

It was not only the Wiawso state but Bekwai and Anhwiaso also came under Denkyira rule. The traditions of the last mentioned state hold that they were once overran by latter power while most of their able-bodied men were away to war with their northern neighbours. By the end of the 17th century the Denkyira army under their fearful general, Agya Ananse Obooman, had carried their arms to as far west as the Bia and south westwards to bring Awowin under their rule. 19

As Bosman and the other European observers reported, all the former tributary states of Denkyira were anxious for its downfall because Denkyira rule tended to be harsh. 20 Indeed it is known that most of the tributary states overtly supported Asante. To them the Asante war of liberation would also win them their indepedence. Unlike Akyem Abuakwa, little did they realize that Asante which had objected to Denkyira rule, was itself embarking on an imperial drive. It was perhaps with a view to gaining the confidence of the Asantes that Anhwiaso immediately transferred its allegiance to Asante after 1701. 21 It is not certain when and why Wiawso and Bekwai came under Asante rule. If the information collected by Bowdich at the beginning of the 19th century is to be believed then the defeat of Wiawso soon followed that of Denkyira. It

is known that Osei Tutu's General Amankwatia, conquered "Sawee Bomancumma". 22. By 1700, however, Obumankoma was dead and had been succeeded by Nkoa. Any Asante war against Sefwi then would be against Nkoa but not Obumankoma. It is interesting to note that within less than a decade and a half, Nkoa I had so successfully adapted himself to the changed political situation as to play a prominent role in the Asante-Awowin War of 1715. Nor could Anhwiaso preserve its friendly relations with Asante for long. In 1715, Amankwatia's army on its way to Apolonia overran its capital and thus completely reduced Anhwiaso to a tributary status. Perhaps the role played by the Bantamahene Amankwatia in bringing these states completely under Asante rule explains why Wiawso and Anhwiaso served the Asantehene through the Bantamahene. 23

Throughout the period between 1715 and 1887, when Sefwi finally came under the British, Asante maintained its rule in the area. By the reign of Osei Kwadwo, Asante power had stretched farther westwards into part of the Anyi-Baule region of the Ivory Coast. 24 The whole of modern Sefwi had been brought under Asante rule by the 1770s, when Osei Kwadwo is said to have defeated the former Awowin principality of Bonzan. Bonzan traditions agree that they came under Sefwi Wiawso at the suggestion of the Asantes. To pacify the former powerful Bonzan Wiawso agreed to make it the Krontihene of the state.

One of the mysteries of Sefwi history is its relationship with Ebiri Moro. Fuller, without citing his source of information, asserts that one Ebiri Mori, King of Sefwi, sacked Kumasi when the Asante armies were gone to war against Akyem. This happened according to Fuller, during the reign of Opoku Ware. 25 It is interesting to note that none of the chiefs interviewed could tell of Ebiri Moro's identity. Perhaps one may argue that since his actions brought the state into disrepute the Sefwi people have deliberately struck out his name from the king lists. I am inclined to believe that no such an attempt has been made. Judging from the intense rivalry among the paramount stools, it is not unlikely that one of them would have shown who Ebiri Moro was as long as he was not connected with their stool. All the available information, however, makes Ebiri Moro either a ruler of Ahafo or Awowin. Indeed, Wiawso traditions assert that it

it could not have been a ruler of Sefwi since they were at that time fighting with the Asante army. 26

Nor does the 19th and early 20th century traditions collected associate him with Sefwi. Reindorf asserts that Ebiri Moro was the ruler of Parana and that Amankwatia fought and defeated Ohumankoma and not Ebiri Mor. Kumawu traditions collected by Rattray in the 1920s associate Ebiri Moro with Wassa. 27 Judging from Sefwi relations with Asante at the beginning of the 18th Century, it is difficult to believe that they would have been bold enough to have carried an attack to the capital of their overlord. It appears that the historian interested in finding more about this mysterious Ebiri Moro must search for him in the Awowin states which are in both Ghana and the Ivory Coast or in the Bono Takyiman-Wenchi area.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

With the influx of people from many parts of the country especially from Adanse which is known to be the first organized Akan state "from which other states learned the art of government", 28 the social and political systems of Sefwi have been much influenced by the immigrants. The present basic social structure may be said to be the superimposition of the highly developed pure Akan clan system on one which had hitherto been organized primarily around living quarters and in Asafo or warrior company groups. 29 The outcome on the whole has not been very satisfactory marriage. This explains the confusion about the various clans who claim to be eligible to occupy important stools. In Anhwiaso and Wiawso it appears that the struggles between the various clans are primarily due to the unsuccessful merger of the two dissimilar institutions i.e. the pure Akan clan system on the one hand, and the Awowin-Bono system on the other.

Nowhere is this situation as pronounced as in the Wiawso state. There the clan in which the paramount stool is vested is known as the Asankera. One would expect that all the members of this group would belong to one known Akan clan group. But far from it. There are, at least, three different clans who claim to belong to the Asankera group. The present Omanhene of Wiawso, for instance, asserts that he is of the Oyoko clan, while Buako and Asafo which are also Asankera are of the Asakyiri and Bretuo

clans, respectively. 30 In the Anhwiaso area perhaps the origins of the struggles between the Asona or Wenchi on the one hand, and the Adum-Aduana and the Aduana (Sawua) on the other, stem from a similar unsuccessful arrangement of merging clans with living quarters.

In the political sphere, however, most of the Akan institutions have been easily adopted. The politico-military division of the state into the left, right, and vanguard wings each under a leader who led his men in time of war and administered the division in peact-time is a common feature of the Sefwi constitution. Also all the states have such purely administrative posts as the Kronti, Akwamu, Gyaase, Ankobea, and a host of others which are common with all the other Akan states. In spite of these arrangements, however, it appears that, with the exception of a few important stools in some places the all important office of the queen-mother was unknown or her role was relegated to an inferior status.

ECONOMY

Like most of the forest states of West Africa Sefwi's economy was based on trade. Gold mining and panning as well as ivory hunting were two of the most important occupations. Gold and ivory were exchanged for manufactured goods. A town like Bonzan (when translated the name means the river which spits out gold), owed its fame and importance to its gold industry. Gold from Sefwi and other Awowin towns was regularly sent to Begho to the north and to the European forts at the coast. The route connecting Kumasi to Sefwi was one of the important arteries of trade at the beginning of the 19th century. 31 Towards the end of the 19th century when rubber became one of the principal items of trade in the forest region of Ghana, Sefwi appears to have been active in the tapping of rubber. The abundance of both the tree, Funtumia elastica, and the vine, Landolphia Owarensis, in the area greatly made rubber exploitation a lucrative occupation for the people. It was undoubtedly during this period of rubber boom that Debiso in Sefwi became an important stopping place and market centre for people who journeyed to Kankyaabo (Krinjabo) and other places in modern Ivory Coast. While it may not be denied the importation of European manufactured goods, especially iron implements helped to make possible

this economic exploitation, Sefwi and its immediate neigbhourhood had had traditions of iron working going back to the pre-European period. To both Denkyira and Sefwi the iron working towns of Tonsuosim (Maudaso) by the Dia, and Bopa-Piri, by the Tano had long provided the much needed hoes and machetes (adre), for the exploitation of the forest. 32

FESTIVALS AND TRADITIONAL DIETIES

As was pointed out earlier on all the three states of Sefwi share a common culture in spite of the fact that they all came from different places. They share a common dialect, Sefwi, have a common Yam Festival, Alielolie, and a common diety, Sobore. Although the Sefwi dialect is grouped with other Akan languages, 33 it is mostly unintelligible to the other Akan speakers. Linguistically the incoming Akans from the east and other regions have had their language very much overlaid with the Awowin-Bono dialect. Now Sefwi shares this common dialect, with the Awowin, Nzima and Anyi-Baule in the Ivory Coast.

In their common yam festival, the Alielolie, they celebrate the end of the farming year, and offer food and drinks to their ancestors - a practice which is not dissimilar from the Ohum and Odwira festivals of the Akans. On the other hand the second festival, the Alie, is not celebrated by all the stools, but only by members of the Asona clan in the three states. The importance of this festival lies perhaps in the fact that it serves as one of the only connecting links between the two Wenchis of Bono and Sefwi. Formerly celebrated only in Wenchi, but not taken up by the Omanhene of Anhwiaso and such places as Chirano, Subiri and Kesekrom, it has much in common with the celebration of the annual Apo festival of Wenchi in the Bono states. In both the Alie and the Apo food which is cooked for the ancestors is placed at the outskirts of the town and merry-making women dance up and down the streets at times exposing their naked but well decorated bodies to the onlookers.

In the worship of the tutelar diety Sobore, the three states also have a common identity. The deity is supposed not only to protect the states from all calamities but it is also a fertility god. Admittedly each state had its own shrine and priests but in all essentials the method of worshipping is similar. It appears that the Sobore pre-dates the establishment of modern Sefwi state.

This may explain why only the local dialect and not Twi and only locally made wine from the raffia palm are used in worshipping Sobore. It is highly probable that the worship of this stream Sobore, was taken over from the Awowins.

CONCLUSION

From about the middle of the seventeenth century that stretch of terriroty which later became known as Sefwi was gradually being subjected to Akan influences from the east and northeast. Formerly the territory west of the Dia, spanning across the Tano and the Bia into parts of the Ivory Coast and stretching south to parts of Nzema was under the rule of the Awowin.

With the rise of powerful states of the Akans to the east, the territories of Awowin in particular this was a welcome development since it provided them with much needed subjects to occupy its sparsely peopled spheres of influence. This open door policy was to provide the excuses for the powerful states of Denkyira and Asante to bring Awowin under their control. At times with the overt support of the conquerors, many Akans moved west to populate modern Sefwi. It is interesting to note that virtually all the ruling houses but Bonzan ana a few others, trace their origins into Denkyira, Adanse and Asante.

The newcomers brought with them the social and political organizations which they had learned from the Akan areas. The present day loosely formed clans in Sefwi is the outcome of the unsuccessful merger of the Akan clan system, based on exogamous matriarchy with what used to be a loose form of organization based on living quarters and warrior groups. On the other hand if the Akans succeeded in establishing their political organization on the predominantly Awowin-Bono system, culturally they were almost wholly assimilated by the conquered. The Akan language became so heavily overlaid with the Awowin dialect as to make it unintelligible to other Akan speakers. It is interesting to note, however, that the Akan Twi is still spoken by most of the people in addition to Sefwi for

prestige reasons. This may be due to the rule of Denkyira and Asante and, to a larger extent, to the frequent infusion of Twi speakers who come in as migrant cocoa farmers.

FOOTNOTES

1. There is another tradition which reserts that Sefwi is the corrupt form of the name Sahie. Sahie is said to have been the chief hunter of Anasima, the King of Awowin who was in charge of the present Sefwi lands. See traditions of Sefwi Bekwai. I am grateful to Mr. K. Danso, Establishment, and Dr. Andoh, Korle Bu, for sharing with me their knowledge of the traditional history of Sefwi.

2. K.Y. Daaku and a van Dantzig "An Annotated Dutch Map of 1629" Ghana Notes and Queries 1966. D'Anville "A Map of the Gold Coast, from Issini to Alampi, 1729. W. Bosman: A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, London, 1967 (First published 1704), p. 73. J. Barbot, A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea. (London 1746) p. 187.

3. T.E. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast to Ashantee (1819) p. 169. J. Dupuis, Journal of Residence in Ashantee, 1824, p.265

4. K.Y. Daaku, Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600 - 1720, Oxford 1970, p.176 "The Fall of Ahwene Koko .....
GNQ 10, 1968.

5. Bowdich, op. cit., p. 237

6. See K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Sefwi-Wiawso

7. Ibid.

8. I am grateful to Mr. C.E. Donkor for showing me his unpublished manuscripts on the traditions of Wenchi.

9. K.Y. Daaku: Oral Traditions of Sefwi Anhwiaso and Bekwai. Traditions of Wenchi.

10. Op. cit., Traditions of Chirano.

11. H.P. Holtsbaum "Sefwi and its Peoples" The Gold Review, 1, 1925, p.76-94. K.Y. Daaku, Traditions of Bekwai.

12. C.C. Reindorf: The History of the Gold Coast and Asante, Basel, 1898, p.49. K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Denkyira, Legon, 1970.

13. W. Bosman, op. cit., Although Bowdich asserts that the grandfather of Amankwatia defeated Sefwi Bumankoma. This is because it is not improbable that the Asante defeat of Sefwi pre-dated the fall of Denkyira in 1701. It is known that Amankwatia's drive through Sefwi to Nzema took place in 1715.

14. Bowdich, op.cit., p.237; Dupuis, op. cit., p.30

15. K.Y. Daaku, Trade and Politics, p.176-178.

16. K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Sefwi Wiawso.

17. Reindorf, op. cit., p.49. F. Fuller. A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti, London 1921, p.26.

18. Oral Traditions of Wiawso. See Akontombra and Amanfie It is most likely that Nkoa I, like his contemporary Osei Tutu, served a period of apprenticeship under Boa Amponsem.

19. Bosman, op. cit., p. 79

20. K.Y. Daaku, Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, p 156-162.

21. Traditions for Sefwi Anhwiaso.

22. Bowdich, op. cit., p.237

23. H oltsbaum, op. cit.,

24. Dupuis, op. cit., p. 242.

25. Fuller, op. cit., p.26.

26. Oral Traditions of Sefwi Wiawso; Bekwai, Anhwiaso.

27. R.S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, Oxford 1929, p.201. Reindorf, op.cit., p.79.

28. Ibid., p.48.

29. Traditions of Amanfie, Bonzan, Akantombra, in Oral Traditions of Sefwi Wiawso.

30. Wiawso, Buako, and Asafo - in Traditions of Wiawso.

31. Bowdich, op. cit., p.186

32. K.Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Denkyira (Legon 1970) Maudaso, and Ibid, Oral Traditions of Sefwi. Tradition has it that the town of Ahebenso in Sefwi derives its name from its abundant diamonds. It will be interesting to find out the contributions of the Denkyira and Sefwi craftsmen to the growth of Asante power. It is known for instance that the important blacksmith's town Fumasua near Kumasi was peopled by Osei Tutu with captives from Denkyira.

3. M. Stewart: The Akan Language. G.N.O.9, 1966.

Appendix I

The Gold Coast Review 1925.

Sefwi and its People by F.P. Holtsbaum - Gold Coast Political Service.

Situated in the northwest corner of the Gold Coast colony, with the ancient kingdom of Ashanti as its northern boundary and the French Ivory Coast to the west, lies the large tract of unoccupied country which was at one time the hunting preserve of the Ashanti Kings and which today is known as Sefwi. It is one of the largest district administrative areas in the colony, and is, with the exception of Aowin, the most unchanged by outside influences. It is a rich area agriculturally and has great potential wealth in timber and minerals. Cocoa-growing is the chief industry, and the Sefwi crop has long enjoyed a reputation for its quality which is partly due to the fact that extensive forest belts have been allowed to remain between the cultivated areas, and partly to the fact that the Sefwi farmer takes a good deal of trouble in preparing his crop for the market.

Progress and trade have been hampered in the past by lack of transport, everything coming into or leaving the district having to be carried by head-load, which has the disadvantages of being both slow and costly. At the moment, however, the position is considerably improved by the rapid progress which has been made in the construction of the Dunkwa-Wioso motor road. It is proposed to continue this road on to the western frontier. A branch road is also under construction from Diaso to Bibiani, which will tap a rich cocoa area and possibly cause the gold mines in that neighbourhood to be re-opened. It is true that roads will merely penetrate the outer edge of Sefwi, but they will pass through the richest areas both from an agricultural and mineral point of view, and they will also place the more important towns in direct communication with administrative and commercial headquarters.

In addition to the motor roads it is proposed to construct a railway line through Sefwi, which will give direct communication with the coast. One of the drawbacks to this proposal is the scanty population, for Sefwi and the neighbouring districts are thinly populated. But it is hoped that the opening up of that part of the country would have the effect of bringing back many hundreds of

youngmen who have in the past been in the habit of going further afield to seek their fortune, and also of inducing many Sefwi people now resident in the French Ivory Coast to return to their original homes. But the advantages of such a railway would be enormous for it would open up many thousands of square miles of timber country which would otherwise remain for ever closed. The Tano River flows through this area, but it is, although a very large river, useless to the Sefwi people commercially owing to rapids, which render it impossible to float logs down.

The people of Sefwi have not escaped the love of litigation common to all tribes of the colony; as a result they are poor and the more important stools are deeply in debt. But they are a very cheeful people and look with confidence to the future for prosperity.

Back to Bumankama

Whatever the division of Sefwi land may have been in the ancient times, it is present split up into three divisions or states, mutually indepedent and each having its own paramount chief, or Omanhene. These divisions are, in the order of territorial importance, Sefwi Wioso, Sefwi Anwhiaso, and Sefwi Bekwai.

The name of Wioso is a contraction, the original form being Wiawoso. Wia - sun; wo - to be; so - on. The story is told of some people who went in the misty days of long ago to a hill-top to plant some groundnuts. Having worked all day looked up to see if the position of the sun justified them in returning home. To their surprise they found it shining brightly all round them, although the valley beneath was bathed in shadow.

That is the hill on which the present town of Wioso or Wiawoso, now stands.

At that time the paramount chief of the Wioso was called Bumankama and he lived with the stool at Esaman, not far from the present village of Bosomoiso and on the banks of the Subrae River. The Wioso tradition says, that one day one of the inhabitants of Esaman was walking to his farm, when suddenly the god of Subrae made himself manifest. The god declared that he liked the people of Sefwi and would in future safeguard them. If they were in

any difficulty or danger, they were to consult him, when they would get a good answer. He stipulated that Saturday was to be aside as his special day when a dog was to be offered to him and he further told the man that the people were to more from Esaman, which was situated too close to the river, as he feared they might violate his rights.

All this was told to Bumankama, who took the stool and made his village on the top of the Wioso hill, where the native seat of Government has since remained.

No trace of old Esaman now remains, save an old silk cotton tree, which was sacred to the Subrae god. Bumankama planted a similar tree in the centre of Wioso town and this still exists and it is believed that the god comes each night and sits on it, watching over the Sefwi people. A space is fenced off at the base of this tree and into it food is placed for the use of the god. The stool paramount of Anwhiaso has not enjoyed the same rest as that of Wioso. Tradition speaks of it as having been at the village of Wankyi, or Wenchi from time immemorial until it was moved to Subire by the Omanhene Onipa Penin something like one hundred years or so ago. Wankyi was situated on stony ground about twenty minutes' walk from the hammock road leading from Wioso to Chirano, on the right-hand side. No trace of it now remains. The reason for this move is said to have been that the land round Wankyi was poor and yielded no gold. Subire was scarcely more satisfactory, however, for during the reign of Kwow Onipa, who succeeded Onipa Panin, the Anwhiasos had the misfortune to receive a visit from the Ashanti army, on its way south to fight with the Apollonians. This visit was altogether unsatisfactory to the Anwhiasos, who had all their morable property looted. The stool was then taken to the original town of Anwhiaso, which was at a point on the Bibiani hammock road, now marked by a Survey Pillar, No.15, and no trace of it remains. This place was sandy, hence the name: Anwhia - sand; so - on. During the years that followed the stoll was moved to Pataboso, back to Subire, back again to Anwhiaso, to Ntakum and finally to the village of Brahabokom.

This village was founded by the father of the present Omanhene, who left his own village in consequence of a dispute which he had with his family. The name he chose for his new home was unfortunate; Bra - come; ha - here; bo - to strike; m' - me. The village still exists as the

oldest part of the town, but the name was recently changed to Anwhiaso by the present Omanhene, who saw no sense in perpetuating the memory of an old quarrel and considered, rightly, that the large new town he had built was worthy of a better name.

The Bekwais are said to have come from the Wassaw area during the reign of Ajaye Penin at Wankyi. This the Bekwais do not admit, but both the Anwhiaso and Wioso traditions are agreed on the point. In any case the Bekwais at one time occupied land in the neighbourhood of the Subrae River and had their stool at a village called Ewumasu. A dispute arose between the Wiosos and Bekwais through a gambling debt which was not paid. According to the Bekwais one of their men lost a large sum to a Wioso man, which he paid. Later the same two played again for a similar stake, when the Bekwai man won, whereupon the Wioso man refused to pay. The Wiosos reverse the details of this story, showing that it was the Bekwai man who finally refused to pay. But whichever side was right, the most simple of all means was resorted to of settling the dispute. The Bekwais and Wiosos fought and the latter being the stronger, the Bekwais were driven out. They are then said to have gone to the King of Ashanti to ask for land and he is supposed to have sent them to the Omanhene of Anwhiaso, who allowed them to live on the land in the neighbourhood of the present town of Bekwai. This name was given to the place owing to the number of palm trees which grew there. Abe - palm; kwai - forest. It is not easy to discover that relationship existed originally between the three states which today comprise Sefwi. From what one can gather, the Anwhiasos would appear to be the oldest inhabitants of the land, a significant point in favour of this theory being that neither the Wiosos, nor Bekwais can offer any suggestion as to where the Anwhiasos came from. In any official document which I have seen no mention is made of any particular Omanhene until quite recent times. In all early dealings with the Ashantis the general term King of Sefwi is found and it is not easy to discover whether this ruler held sway over all three divisions or whether he was of one state having jurisdiction over the other two. Naturally all three divisions maintain that they were the original inhabitants of Sefwi, and that the King of Sefwi was of their particular tribe. The Anwhiasos claim that Ajai Penin was known as the King of Sefwi and that it was he who gave the Bekwais Ewumasu to live at, and also that they in return had to serve him. Their tradition also

speaks of the Wiosos as a powerful people who came from Ashanti, Tekyiman area, via Wassaw and of their receiving Esaman from the Wankyihene. But whatever the connection between the three tribes may have been, it must have been fairly close and would seem to be of long standing, as their customs are very smilar, their principal fetishes identical and their language, Sefwi, common to all, yet distinct from the dialects spoken by the neighbouring tribes. Indeed, the Sefwi language is very similar to that spoken in Western Ashanti, but has several differences, and would not appear to have passed through the same stages of evolution. The constitution of the three states is different, which points to different origins. In Wioso the people are divided into companies similar to the coast tribes, whilst the Anwhiasos follow the Ashanti custom of family division. The Bekwais are also divided into families, but these are very loosely observed.

Sefwi during the Ashanti Ascendancy.

I have said that at one time Sefwi was the hunting preserve for the Kings of Ashanti, or to be more correct, for the Kings of Kumasi. This came about through the temerity of Ebiri Moro, Omanhene of Sefwi-Wioso. Sir Francis Fuller refers to him as king of Sefwi, as he probably drew his information from an Ashanti source, it seems indicated that by then, some time between 1731 and 1742, the Wiosos had adopted the title of King of Sefwi for their Paramoung chief. Ebiri Moro invaded the capital of Ashanti, Kumasi, during the absence of the Ashanti army, who had gone off to Eastern Akyim to fight Finding little opposition, he destroyed the town, killed the Queenmother and all the women of the royal family save two, and broke open the royal graves, from which he is said to have taken told ornaments. Neither Ebiri Moro nor his followers profited very much by the expedition, for they were pursued by the King of Bantama and overtaken before they could recross the Tano River. Here a battle was fought in which the Wiosos were utterly defeated and Ebiri Moro slain. From that date the Wiosos and Bekwais served the King of Kumasi through Bantama. This would indicate that at the time of the Ashanti invasion the Bekwais served the Wioso Omanhene to some extent. But it would seem to show that the Anhwiasos kept themselves apart, as they never served through the king of Bantama. They say that

they were indepedent until the reign of Osai Tutu in Ashanti. At that period if is stated that the Anwhiasos made an expedition to the northern territories, under Ajaye Penin, their Omanhene. Whilst they were away the Denkeras came and destroyed their property and forced them to serve the king of Denkera, who afterwards fought with the Kumasi army and was defeated, whereupon the Anwhiasos transferred their allegiance, serving Kumasi through Asafo. Had Ebiri Moro, as King of Sefwi, excercised jurisdiction over the Anwhiasos, they would have founded part of his expedition to Kumasi, and as a result would have served Kumasi through Bantama.

The piece of land that came under the sway of Kumasi after the defeat of Ebiri Moro extended west to the Bia River, near Krokosua. Beyond that the land belonged to the Aowins. But the Wiosos fought with them and drove them out, thus adding to their possessions the land from the Bia River to Dadiaso.

In 1873 the whole of the Sefwi people, with the exception of one section of the Anwhiasos who served the Siwua family, formed part of the Ashanti army that crossed the Pra River under Amankwa Tia, King of Bantama. This was the last occasion on which the king of Kumasi was supported by the kings and chiefs of the neighbouring tribes. The defeat of Amankwa Tia on that occasion seems to have shown the people that further resistance against the British was useless, and in the following year, 1874, the Sefwis, in common with many other tribes, broke away from Ashanti and have since retained their independence.

The Royal Family of Wioso

In the Wioso division the name of the royal family is Asankera. To this family there are two sides, a junior and senior, both descended from a lady named Koka Adjuah whose son, Nkuah Penin, sat upon the Wioso stool at least from 1742 to 1752. This man was a great fighter and seems to have feared that he might die, or get killed, so leave the stool vacant at a time when a leader would be urgently required. He therefore adopted a plan to overcome this. He had two sisters named Sarlie and Edua respectively. Sarlie, the elder, had a son named Ekyir Kudjo, and Nkuah Penin appointed him to sit behind the stool giving him the title of Niakyire. Nia - he who (is); ehyire - behind. This appointment made Ekyir Kudjo heir apparent to the stool

paramount. A stool was made specially for the holder of the appointment and is still used at Wioso. Ekyir Kudjo predeceased Nkuah Penin and the stool of the Niakyire was given to Eduhin, grandson of Edua. It was then arranged that in future the Niakyire should be appointed alternately from Sarlie's and Edua's sides of the family, thereby ensuring that both sides would have their turn in occupying the stool paramount. I attach a family tree to make this clear.

There are two family stools, Asafo and Bichiamwere, which are reserved for members of the Asankera family on Sarlie's and Edua's sides respectively. Usually the Niakyire occupies one or other of these stools, but it is not necessary that he should. If he does, the Nia kyire's stool is sent to him at his own village and remains there with him, whilst if he does not happen to be a sub-chief he takes up his residence at Wioso. The chiefs of Bodi, Bonzan, and Kessekrom are the three important Safohene whose duty it is to place a new Omanhene on the stool of the Division. These belong to the Asafo company.

The Royal Family of Anwhiaso

The divisional stool of Anwhiaso is in the hands of the Odum family, but the Ohene of Chirano, who is of the Siwua family, claims that the Siwuas should occupy it. His story is that when Onipa Panin died the proper person to succeed was Mme Kwow, but he being too old and no ther Siwua being available, he gave the stool to his son Kow Onipa, born to him of an Odum woman. Since then there have been ten Amanhin of the Odum family on the stool without interruption. This dispute was taken to the King of Kumasi, who decided in favour of the Odums because, say the Siwuas, the Odums fought for Ashanti against the English. Supporters are equally divided in this dispute, which has the unhappy effect of dividing the State in two and rendering the Omanhene's task of opening up his territory very difficult. It is, however, satisfactory to be able to say that the present Omanhene is such an excellent man that the Siwuas have no palaver with him personally.

Villages supporting Odums	Villages supporting Siwuas
Asawinso	Banamobo
Fahia kobo	Mraden
Awoso	Akasu
Chichiwere	Kabinsiri
Ntakum	Kantanwirabo

Subire
Muano
Prahsu
Pataboso
Asèmboni
Nyetsina
Edukrom

Adeambra
Anyinsiea
Bontain

In addition to these there are small villages in the "Bush" that serve one or other of the bigger villages, which bring the numbers up to fourteen and thirteen respectively. According to the Odums the following are the important Safohene who appoint the Omanhene: Asawinso, Kojina, Awoso, Chichiwere, Prahso, Pataboso, Asamboni and Chirano. The Siwuas say that they do not know what the present procedure is, but that in the ancient times the stool, when vacant, was taken to the ancestors of Ampomenin, who chose the next Omanhene.

Sefwi Inter-Divisional Disputes

Disputes concerning Sefwi land exist between all three divisions and have thrown the stools of each into considerable debt. That between the Wioso and Bekwai divisions has for the past few years occupied the position of greatest importance, passing from court to court until in October, 1924, the Court of Appeal at Accra gave judgment in favour of Wioso. This decision struck a severe blow at Bekwai, giving all the land as far as the Chira River, within a mile of Bekwai town, to the Wioso. It is understood that the elders of Bekwai intend to carry the dispute to the Privy Council. The Wiosos have a dispute with the Anwhiasos concerning the land in the neighbourhood of the old town of Wenkyi, but as these two divisions have been on good terms during the past few years it seems possible that a settlement may be made without dragging the matter into the courts.

The most vital of all, for Bekwai, will be the claim made by the Anwhiasos to the land lived upon by the Bekwai people, when that case comes up for settlement. This, if decided in favour of the Anwhiaso people, would leave nothing to Bekwai save a few acres in the extreme south-east corner of Sefwi.

Other land Disputes

Lest the position of Bekwai was not sufficiently difficult, the remaining acres left to them by Wioso and Anwhiaso are claimed by one of the chiefs of Wassaw.

The Anwhiasos claim that their boundary to the east is the

Dia River, But the Ohene of Jukwa, Cape Coast District, claims that this land is his. The position is rendered more complicated by the fact that at least two other chiefs claim the land as their own. At a meeting of the contending parties held at Diaso on December 19, 1924, by the Deputy Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Jones, all save one of the claimants agreed to have the matter heard and decided by the Honourable Commissioner of the Western Province and signed a bond to abide by his decision.

A minor dispute exists between the chief of Bodi, Wioso Divion, and the people of Dadiaso, Aowin Division concerning the land between the Bia River and Dadiaso. It is claimed by the Wiosos that during the reign of Nkuah Penin they fought with the Aowins and drove them off this land. I do not think the people of Dadiaso dispute this, but claim that, having occupied the land for a great many years, it is now their own. As I have said, it is not a mtter of great importance and seems likely to settle itself, more particularly as the two parties concerned are very good friends.

Last Traces of the Good Old Times.

After the war between Kumasi and Juaben in 1875 many hundreds of Juabens fell into the hands of the Kumasi King. These were sent to Sefwi en route for the French Ivory Coast where they were to be sold into slavery. The Juabenhene sent to the king of Sefwi and asked him to hold these people until they could be redeemed. This was done and most of the Juabens eventually returned home. But some small remnant of these people, and of other people who had a similar fate, remains in Sefwi and it is uncommon thing to meet a man or woman with a family who considers that they are slaves still. They certainly do not appear to have a very strenous time and come and go as they please, often absenting themselves from the division for many years. From the very first they appear to have been treated as orginary members of the community, receiving land to farm and wives to marry. They know perfectly well that they are not slaves and that they can stop where they are or remove, just as they please.

A terrific code of politeness exists and is rigidly observed by the people of Sefwi, and a breach of one of its rules quickly leads to a fine, which is light or heavy according to the nature of the offence. If a man, being a stranger, enters a village, he first greets the people in his immediate neighbourhood by walking round and shaking hands with them. He then seats himself and they in turn come and return the greeting. Failure to observe this little act of courtesy would probably lead to a fine of some small amount, together with the drinking of rum, by way of pacification. This and other similar customs may sound very childish today, but they are probably survivals of a procedure which was found extremely useful in earlier times, when a stranger entering a village might mean war!

Fetish "Worship".

I have mentioned the god of the Subrae River as being a most powerful fetish in Sefwi, particularly in the Wioso Division. On Saturday a dog is offered to him, and on that day no drums may be beaten, nor does the Omanhene put on one of his fine cloths or wear his stool jewels, nor does he leave his own compound save on some important occasion. Should it be necessary for the Omanhene to go abroad on Saturday, he leaves his house by a side entrance, as he may not walk in the open street. Whilst the land dispute between Wioso and Bekwai was before the court, the latter stated that the Subrae River flowed on their land. The Wiosos at once went and consulted the god of Subrae, and received an answer which would have done credit to a diplomat: "I flow on Sefwi land, wait and you will see".

Before holding the annual yam custom the Omanhene of Wioso asks the god of Subrae to give him strength to perform it and to find favour with his ancestors. Strips of white cloth are at such a time attached to the cotton tree in Wioso town and food is placed beside it for the use of the god.

It may be well here to point out that this respect paid to the god of Subrae has nothing whatever to do with religion. This god is a spirit with limited powers to help of hinder people. He can be of great use if so inclined, and it is with the idea of keeping him in proper frame of mind that offerings are made on the day he has chosen. Strictly speaking, fetish is not worshipped at all. The spirit is of the wandering variety and has never occupied a human form. Ordinarily such a spirit is more likely to hurt people than to help them, unless they are careful not to annoy him. He may occupy a tree or river or almost anything, and to interfere with his chosen resting place would be the greatest possible folly.

These spirits may be very powerful, like that of Subrae, or may be of little importance and exercise control only over one particular matter. But it is always in matters between man and man that such a spirit's power lies. He does not control the harvest, but he may have tremendous influence over the outcome of a war.

Every fetish has its priest, or set of priests. Through these the god concerned is consulted and through them he sends his answer. When things go wrong the individual concerned is told what to do to put matters right, which may be the offering of a chicken to fetish or paying some pacification to an individual and thus facifying that individual's fetish. From this it will be seen that the fetish priest occupies a position of no small importance in the native state.

Another very powerful fetish amongst the Wiosos is that of the Tano River god. This river abounds with fish which are the children of the god. One of these is of very great size and is said to be distinguished from the others by a plate of gold which he wears on his head. Three roads lead from Wioso to the Western Frontier and at the points where these cross the Tano River it is not lawful to catch fish. The fish at these spots are very tame and will take food practically from a man's hand.

They are fed regularly by priests attached to the Fetish, and before and after the yam custom the Omanhene of Wioso sends them special food.

In addition to fetishes which have power all over the country, there are others which are without honour outside a single village, or even a single family.

Sometimes it is seen that a particular fetish has not been very successful. He is then considered to have grown weak and will become neglected and perhaps forgotten altogether.

Medicine Men or "Doctors"

One hears a good deal about native doctors and the wonders they perform. The fact is that very few of them pretend to be able to cope with more than a few diseases. Most, but not all, of them work in conjunction with a fetish. Usually the patient has to go in the first instance to a fetish priest, who will direct him to a particular medicine man.

Such ancient remedies as "bleeding" are frequently resorted to, and much curious medicine is used, which chiefly consists of a brew made from herbs mixed with chopped leaves, blood, or anything to disguise it.

Charms and Mascots

Distinct from fetish are the charms and mascots which children and others wear for luck, just as we do in England. These are not ordinarily retailed by professional dealers and may consist of a shell, a small bottle, or some other object with which good luck is associated. To lose one of these charms would be a great misfortune, as the luck would be broken and could not again be caught.

Other charms are worn to ward off the evil eye, or to prevent sickness. These, however, are usually obtained from a fetish man of some sort, usually connected with one of the modern fetishes, imported from the French Ivory Coast mostly. Quite recently a small boy came and told me that 4s. had been taken from him by a man who

promised to give him a charm that would enable him to fight everybody. That evening the boy had a quarrel with a big man and got soundly beaten, whereupon he went to the vendor of charms and asked for his money back. He was told that he must bring 1s. to open the man's heart. This he did, but received nothing. Incidents of this kind are not very common in Sefwi, but they happen occasionally.

Witchcraft and Devils

As might be expected in a backward place like Sefwi, a firm belief in devils exists. These devils are evil spirits who have never been born, either as men or animals. They do anybody any good but are always on the look-out for a chance to do harm. Some men are born with a devil, others acquire one later. The most common way to become possessed is to cut your foot whilst walking through the forest. The devil has placed the stone or stick there so that you would cut yourself and he himself is waiting to enter your blood through the wound. For this reason a native is very careful to put a green leaf, a special leaf of course, over such a wound at once, and as soon as possible he puts a devil-proof medicine on. I have found Zam-Buk very popular with the Wioso carriers for this purpose. In Sefwi-Bekwai there was a good deal of trouble about Christmas, 1923, with devils. I interviewed three men, all of whom admitted that they had devils. One old man said he kept his in the bush and that he used him to obtain meat. Unfortunately he had a dispute with a woman and so sent his devil to her during the night. This devil met her spirit walking abroad, whilst she slept.

Taking a knife, he cut the spirit which then returned to the woman, who wakened up to find herself ill. Four days later she died. This man was sent to a medicine man, who made seven little cuts on either arm and his chest and commanded the devil to come out. This satisfied everybody.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship has been called the Religion of the people of the Gold Coast Colony. Personally, so far as Sefwi is concerned, I do not think it is more than the most important rite in the worship of supreme Being.

When a man dies he goes to the place reserved for the departed and is considered to have access to the Supreme God. To a people who love display and ceremony, it is obvious that the more important the man is, or the more important he is made to appear, the louder he will be able to speak when he goes to his own place. For this reason we find the funeral custom strictly observed. The idea of this is to give the man a good send-off. This not infrequently involves his relatives in great expense. Mourners sing of his good qualities and

everybody dances to the music of drums; guns are fired off until the stock of powder is exhausted, and throughout the whole celebration much rum is consumed. I do not think it at all unlikely that in the good old days, when the funeral custom was being kept for a man of importance, human sacrifices were made, in order that his spirit should not go unaccompanied to the next world.

Sometimes a young man returns to Sefwi after an absence of many years, bringing with him some of his savings, with which he performs the funeral custom of a relative long departed. For it is considered a terrible disgrace to fail to do this.

In Sefwi the whole tribe keeps the funeral custom for all the tribal ancestors annually, on the day preceding the yam custom. On this day food is prepared by the people and set aside for the ancestral spirits. Guns are fired off all day long and great quantities of rum are consumed. The drums are kept very busy and everybody dances until exhausted.

The Yam Custom

The following day the yam custom proper is held. On this day, at Wioso, the Omanhene is taken to the water at the bottom of Wioso hill and is shaved and washed. The Black Stools accompany him, together with the stool Treasure, and these are sprinkled with water as a sign of purity.

After this the Omanhene is dressed in one of his lovely silk cloths and decorated with his jewels. He is then placed in a palaquin and carried back to the town, where a procession is formed, which moves round the town three times. Representatives of the Subrae and Tano fetishes, together with those attached personally to the Omanhene, form part of this procession, as do the stools attached to them, which may be distinguished by the fact that they are washed with white clay. Elders and chiefs from all parts of the division have their special places, the Omanhene coming last of all.

At the conclusion of this parade the Omanhene retires to his court, where he takes his seat on a raised platform, his elders seating themselves round him. A sheep is brought forward and when all is ready, the Omanhene and the Principal chiefs and elders enter the stool House, where the sacrifice is made. This sacrifice is to the spirits of all the departed Amanhene and is made through the stool, which is the habitat of the spirit of the whole tribe.

The blood is sprinkled on the stools which have been made for the various Amanhin and their names are called. They are then thanked by the Omanhene, for the harvest which they have given to

their people and for all the blessings of the past year. They are asked to continue their favour and to increase the tribe, to give long life to the Omanhene, to give many children to the women, and to prevent trouble from coming to the people. The meat from this offering is taken and cooked and the family of the Omanhene and those who have assisted at the ceremony partake of it.

One frequently hears of human sacrifice in connection with the Yam custom. I do not think human sacrifices can ever have been made at that, but it is not at all unlikely that they were at the funeral custom on the preceding day.

After this there is an interval of two weeks, when the whole ceremony is repeated. After that the Omanhene of Wioso goes to Anwhiam, close to Wioso, where he sacrifices a sheep to his own ancestors.

This concludes the annual funeral custom and yam custom. It will be seen that the idea of the former is to keep the ancestors of the tribe reminded of their relatives and to show them they are not forgotten, whilst the latter ceremony is very similar in idea to our own harvest thanksgiving. To my mind ancestor "worship" is to the native of Sefwi very much what the worship of Saints is to an Irish Roman Catholic. Certainly it occupies a more important place in the mind of the Sefwi man, but it occupies an exceedingly logical place. Knowing that his ancestors have lived the same life that he is living, it is reasonable for him to suppose that they will know all about his wants and his troubles. Being members of the same family and tribe, it is but natural to suppose that they will be willing to help him. Having gone to the next world, he believes them to be in touch with the supreme God.

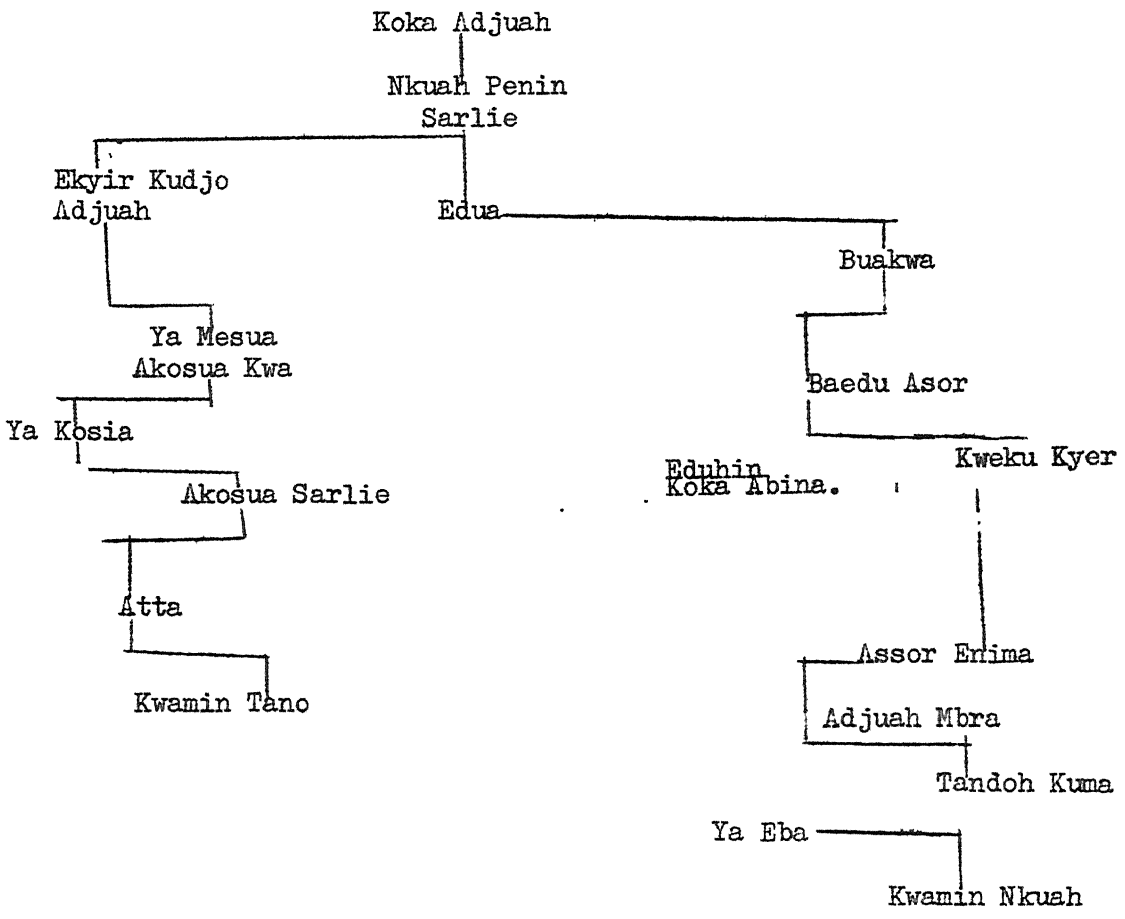
The Supreme God

For the Sefwi man knows there is a supreme Being who created the world. He has no very clear idea of what or where this God is, and he does not waste time trying to find out. Indeed, I am quite sure that he does not consider himself under any obligation to thank his God for the fruits of the earth. He considers God to be benevolent and therefore not likely to harm him. But he looks upon the Supreme Being as so great that it would be nothing short of impetinence to make a request direct. Like the Greeks of old he raises his modest monument to The Unknown God, and is, I think, considerably amazed when the missionary comes along to declare and explaim Him.

But the Sefwi man does not altogether neglect the Supreme God. Outside many houses, or in the compounds, may be seen a forked stick supporting a clay pot. This is known as Nyami Dua, God's Tree. Into this pot the owner of the house puts an occasional offering of eggs and fruits. I have never seen meat of any sort placed here,

although I am told it is done. No special days is set aside for this offering, and it is done quietly and without ostentation, as befits a man who worships he knows not What.

The Family tree of Wioso



Kwamin Tano is the present Omanhene. Tandoh Kuma occupied the Niakyire stool until early in 1924, when he was destooled and Kwamin Nkuah chosen in his place.

APPENDIX II

The Tribal History of Sefwi Anwhiaso, written by Mr. M.M. Miln, Assistant District Commissioner. The information is based on one interview with the Omanhene of Anwhiaso, Nana Kofi Adjai - 1932.

The people of a Thousand shields.

From Winchester to Wenkyi (Wioso) is a long way. And at a casual glance it would seem that the ancient city and the old mud village had but little in common. Indeed much material can quickly be found from which to draw the two different pictures.

People, climate, position, custom, outlook, all ages apart. The green and silver streams that speed eargerly into the hurrying Itchen - now dammed to supply electric light and presumably dividends lend a sharp contrast to the sluggish, copper tributaries that wind their way through miles of semi -equatorial forest into the placid old Tano, the throne of the God of all Ashanti.

Turn back however but a few pages into the story of both old places and we find that they have at least one common trait. Both were once the capital of a state, both no longer are.

The one it is true claims the dignity of being a "city" and has its shrines - the other has but a few mud huts; but the common bond remains. It is with the people of the latter that we are at present concerned. .....

"The people of Anwhiaso have not migrated from elsewhere. They have neber been a subject people. We have never (perhaps in a changing world the proud boast of a proud old chief may be looked on with generosity) never served any people - nor another stool".

Such is the introduction with which I met in seeking into the history of the Anwhiaso people.

"Our real name is "Wenkyi Akyempem". The thousand shields of Wenkyi, for in olden times, whenever the Omanhim went to war - and the little state has been much tested by war in its short history - a thousand shields went before him.

The stool was founded by a certain Ese Bombo, a great and powerful King. All the people followed him with awe and love. Today his name is worshipped - an instance of ancestor worship - and sacrifices are still made to him. He founded the state at Wenkyi and gave the people much wisdom. "He is the greatest man in our

history". On his death a very great funeral ceremony was held and a great loss was felt by the whole of the people.

Bombo was followed by Owusu Akyempen. But that this chief was a famous soldier and built up an army of a thousand shields ("Akyempem") little is known.

The story passes on to Omahin Benieh Kwagya of whom little is remembered.

Kwagya was followed by Kweku Adjai I who seems to have had a troubled reign. He was frequently at war with his own people and on one occasion while so engaged one Amposem, King of Denkyira, evidently an opportunist, arrived in the Anwhiaso state and attacked the four men, the women and the children who were left behind. In charge of these was the Omanhin's wife BIBA ALA ADJUA.

This old lady seeing that she could not fight the powerful king of Denkera called together, in the still of a dark night, all the people in Wenkyi and following drove them into a tremendous fire, lit for the purpose, and burned them to death.

The state is now at its saddest. A few people remained around Wenkyi, a few more are scattered about the State. ADJAI I moves out of the picture and is succeeded by Kyim Paynin.

This Omanhin appears to have been less of a warrior and more of a statesman. He called together the scattered people and reorganised the State into its proper foundation, recognising the real weakness of his state not only in size but also in members a meeting of elders - perhaps one should say the state council - was held and it was decided to approach the Omanhin of Kumasi with a view to forming an alliance with that Ruler. After much discussion and oratory the messengers set out on their long journey.

Agreement was reached and the Anhwiaso Elders went to Kumasi. Here the fetishes were washed in Rum and the rum then drunk. The following Oath was taken.

> "From this day forward we are going to serve you - If we do not the Fetish may kill us".

The whole arrangement was reciprocal. If the Ashantis were attacked the Anhwiasos were to go to their aid and vice versa.

Next follows a jump of three Amanhinfu who do not seem to have left much mark on Anhwiaso history. They are Gyansi, Benieh, Mbeh. We then come to Nyimpa Paynin I. This chief moved the stool from Wenkyi

to Subiri, the purpose of the movement being to find gold.

Nympa Paynin I was followed by Kwow Nympa who in turn gave way to Kwame Benieh III. Here it may be noted that the present Omanhin insists most emphatically that Kwow Nyimpa was of the same maternal line as his predecessors and that therefore at this stage customary descent was preserved and the proper line not broken.

Benieh II was followed by Kweku Eduampon. During Eduampon's time the alliance with Kumasi was broken. The king of Ashanti, Karikari called upon the Anhwiaso stool to assit him fight the Fantis. This the Anhwiaso considered inadvisable so they "tore up the treaty" and Eduampon sent a message to the English Governor at Elmina seeking to make peace with the White men. A paper was made. (This possibly refers to the treaty with the Sefwis. See Handbook p.235) and service under the British Crown commenced. At the same time one Kwesi Mensa an Ashanti chief who was in power in Nkwanta (M.H.O. on the Dunkwa-Wioso Road) came and made war on Anhwiaso. The matter was urgently reported to the English and a Captain Way with two British N.C.O.s and some Haus Troops arrived to protect the Anhwiasos. An engagement took place and Kwesi Mensa is reported to have taken away some samples of gold from where Bibiani now is and to have sold them in Europe on behalf of the Omanhin.

From Eduampon we come to Yaw Gyibiri and Kwesi Tindah. Neither were famous. The period of tribal and inter-tribal wars now gives place, under British protection, to a period of uninterrupted peace and trade expansion.

Tindah was followed by Atta Kwame. This chief has a bad record. He threw the state into considerable debt by indulging in expensive litigation and by squandering the state monies. For these "offences" he was destooled in favour of Yaw Dinnah who seems to have been equally unsatisfactory, and to have had little or no control over the state which began to be dissatisfied and to disintegrate under his reign. He also was destooled but before giving way to Kofi Adjai II, the present Omanhin, he moved the stool from Subiri to Anhwiaso then called Brahabobom (a challenge that was never taken up)

What his ancestor Kyim Paynin for the state after it had been wasted by war Adjai has done for it again, after it had suffered from a period of profligacy and litigation. The stool debts have been paid off and the state once again organised into its customary division.

Of a place much buffetted by war perhaps the record of a war tradition may not be out of place.

In the olden times the women of Wenkyi Akyempem used to sustain their men-folk in war - by dancing.

While our men were at war our women behind had to wash themselves specially and at three set times a day. (sunrise, noon, sunset). They were then painted all over with white clay and were ready for the dance. It is called the "Monomone" war dance. If they failed to wash or paint this meant that many men would be killed and the nation would suffer great losses. The dance then took place around the Queen mother, all the women waving cloths in the air which were to blow away the enemies spears. (See Frazer on Contagious Magic. The Golden Bough).

Such then is in brief outline the story of the Sefwi Anhwiaso people.

APPENDIX III

Sefwi District - December 1918. S.M.A. Case 33/19 Adm. 11/754
Memo from C.E.P.

Sefwi Native Affairs

There are three tribal divisions of Sefwi

1. Sefwi Wioso	- Quamin Tano
2. Sefwi Bekwai	- Kwaku Dua
3. Sefwi Anhwiasu	- Yao Dinnah

Each division has its own Omanhin and runs its own tribunal.

Sefwi Wioso: The full confidential case should be read through. Quamin Tano is a good administrator and does not now give any trouble whatever. It is necessary to be firm with him but he is reasonable and friendly.

Bekwai/Kwaku Dua is the Omanhin, very plausible not a bad fellow but passionately fond of court fees and indifferent to justice. The present village of Bekwai has been built; 18 months ago it was practically deserted. Occasionally the Sefwi Anhwiasos claim the Bekwai lands as being in the ancient times under Anhwiaso. Those claims rise and fall have no real substance and are lost in the mists of antiquity. The Egyabaa people of Wassaw have also recently told Bekwai that they think the Bekwais should pay them tribute. All moonshine. The Bekwais are well established in their small divisions and pay no tribute. Ancient, remote and fabulours claims have died of inamition.

The villages of Abengorow and Subirekrom near Bekwai on a bush tract are thriving villages with plenty of crops. They should be visited. Kweku Dua sometimes has to be brought to Wioso as a disciplinary measure.

Sefwi Anhwiaso Division: The position here is that Yao Dinnah the Omanhin is living a fugitive existence owing to colossal stool debts and that one Bosompin, chief of Prasu, is caretaker of the stools and is "ipso facto" the head of the division. The history of this division can be read in its case. It is intimately associated with the vicissitudes of the Bibiani Concession.

Briefly, the late Omanhin, Atta Kwamin, who was destooled, was a bibulous spenddhrift and borrowed money at fantastic rates at Cape Coast and Accra. He pledged lands, forests, concessions existent and nonexistent and the cupidity of his creditors led them to swallow any and every security he offered. Atta Quamin was eventually destooled after signing away lands galore. The present febble fellow, Yao Dinnah, then came to the stool, debts became due, interest mounted

up and creditors harassed him from all sides.

District Commissioner made visit after visit to Anhwiasu. Meetings of the chiefs and people were held at Wioso and at Pataboso in 1916, 1917 and 1918. Promises were made. Most of the elders repudiated their signatures to Atta Quamin's debts. Eventually, in March 1918, Yao Dinnah and some of the principal elders had to go to Cape Coast on visit of Ca: Sa: They were eventually released only about £100 having been paid. Meanwhile one Halm of Accra (now dead) took active steps. Armed with writ of court he attempted to sell the Anhwiasu lands and an Auctioneer one Mercer of Seccondee, appeared in Anhwiasu bearing with him bills and sale warrants. District Commissioner went to him at Asawinsu and told him that the specified boundaries of the land as set forth in his bills were erroneous, nebulous and altogether misleading. Under the circumstances no sale could be allowed. More meetings were held with District Commissioner presiding and the people promised to pay up £2000 in eight days. They actually paid £100 which was sent to Mercer at Seccondee. The lands are saved for the time being, but the evil day is merely being staved off. The only thing District Commissioner can do is to protect the interest of the farmers and planters, see that their lands are not expropriated for a debt the people are not responsible for and that chief Apamanin of Chirano and his people are not bullied into losing their lands for a debt in which they repudiate all participation. The creditors and concessionaires have been ruthless and gasping and their greed has led them to over-reach themselves. They are now clamorous and araved with the law. The situation will require careful watching and we must not let the strictly legal aspect of the natter undermine our administrative obligations to the farmers and villages on the Anhwiasu lands.

Extract from Report on Western Frontier Districts for the quarter ending 30 June 1909. (Case 1002/09). Native Affairs.

Relations of chiefs with each other Sefwi Bekwai. The relations between the Omanhene and the six chiefs, Kwaku Dua and others are still bad. The six chiefs are now in Wassaw with their stools.

In 1909 Kwaku Dua of Ayiem, Kwasi Baidoo of Sukusuku, Kujo Japon of Amuaku and Kweku Mensah of Mpeasam refused to pay snail tolls to the Omanhene of Sefwi Bekwai Kobina Japong since 1907. They were summoned by Mr. F. Foulkes, the District Commissioner who had to pay a fine £5 at the Dunkwa court and other money to the Omanhin as compensation. They borrowed money from the Omanhene of upper Wassaw to defray this debt and later went with their stool property to Akropong. They threatened to have a permanent settlement at Akropong by later on coming to take along their relatives left at Sefwi Bekwai. The commissioner W.P. retaliated that they either came to Bekwai land or that

they would be destooled and subservient people chosen to replace them and serve the Omanhene.

Kweku Dua later agreed that he would take some of his people to Prestea to work for money to pay the debt. This was agreed but there should be no indication of permanent settlement.

This was a disturbing issue throughout the year.

Brief History of Sefwi Bekwai By Oku-Amuah, Clerk to the Omanhene of Bekwai.

The first time the Bekwais were at a place called Dwira near Akim with their first ancestor named Baa-Oku who emigrated to Esumegya in Wassa Amanfi by the permission of the Omanhin on the grounds that they got no place or bush to cultivate farms. They were getting too numerous and wished to take the village to be theirs, so they were driven and they went to a village in the same District called Bekwai. There they used to make native mining throughout the whole Oman and so they were driven again - whence they went to Ewumasu a few miles from Wiosu - the place belonged to nobody. When they were going to Ewumasu, some of the people refused to go and left for Wassa Jopireman near Jukwaa and others went to Enyinabirin near Elmina the chief of them was Kwesi Gyenin. The Omanhin Baa-Oku died at Ewumasu. Kotobiri Aniyaw succeeded. He was a wealthy man and was on the stool for a very long time and got a name in the Oman. He died and Kwame Epo succeeded who after few years got sick of crofula - kukuram - when he was under medical treatment his own brother named Buadi-Kyewa seduced his (Epo's) wife which annoyed the Omahin and caused him to to throw away all the jewerry and left the stool alone because he was the only rightful heir to succeed him when he died. A week after the Omanhin died. Buadi Kyewa also expired and the stool was given to Aka-Kogyan who was wise enough to replace all that has been thrown away by Epo and brought the stool in a wealthy position. After the death of Aka, Kweku Amiyaw of the Sukusuku House succeeded, who after few years reign, pawned the necessary stool property, sold all the gyasis and contracted enormous amount of debt which caused his destoolment when the Oman met and swore fetish and made law between themselves that "whether they were alive or dead, they or their successors would not allow any member of the Ahwini family from Sukusuku House or line to inherit the "Bia Piri" - Big stool. On this they loaded a gun with a valuable Bead - Buta, and fired through the air notifying the Amamfu of the people's disinheritance to the Big Stool any longer. After this ordeal had been gone through the stool was given to Asienim-Kotoku who also died of kukuram in a few months' time when Kwame Gyapon the Great succeeded in about 1782. During the reign of this man at Ewumasu a gun fight arose between him and Inkuwa, the then Omanhin of Wiosu through one Asaim of the Ayem House in this way (1) That Asaim gambled with a nephew

to Omanhin Anoaku Ata of Denkyira and contracted a debt of 7 pereguans (£56) sometime in 1800 which was paid by Kwame Gyapon. (2) He gambled with one Eloin the then chief of Inkakan about a mile from Wiosu and contracted a debt of 3 pereguans (£24) which Gyapon paid. (3) After these the Omanhene beat a gong-gong with the king of Asante's Oath to the effect that no Bekwai man should gamble again scorning the Omanhene's idea did again gamble with the same Eloin and contracted 3 pereguans debt. Eloin killed him and came to Gyapon the Omanhene and asked him to pay him the £24 who refused to pay and thereby ended in the fight with the Wiosus - whence they were driven from Ewumasu to where they are at present. During this fight the ancestors of Esua Kwabina and Yaw Ankura chiefs of Akwantamra, Edu Kwesi of Wiosu and Yaw Busumpim were taken captives and they now remain as Wiosu people.

Kwame Gyapon was a wealthy and brave man. Bekwais were only 30 armed men tried to get all the people that are now here. He made all sorts of paraphernalia and was engaged in many wars. He died at Kumasi and was buried there. Tawua was put on the stool who contracted debt three times at each time 100 pereguans and the Omanfu paid. Through the continual contraction of debt the people at Awasu and Mframanduru in Sefwi Anhwiasu were pawned and still there numbering about 80. After his death Kwadwo Inkruma came to the stool who also contracted £480 debt (60 pereguans) which the Omanhin paid and afterwards he sold all the stool property after three years reign - Gold skulls, pipes, swords and scarves, one of which scarves he pawned is at present with a woman named Ekua Wusuwa sister to Omanhin Ata Kwamin of Ahwiasu. After his death Kwabina Kurabin came to the stool whose time things were alright but was imprisoned at Elimina with two chiefs Apia and Kodwo Biri for three years for instigating in the fight between Kwesi Mensah of Manso Nkwanta and Eduampon the then Omanhene of Ahwiasu. After his release from prison he cane to Bekwai and reigned for few years and expired, when the stool was given to Kwame Nkuwa who contracted debt of 30 pereguans after two years reign and died in the latter part of 1907 when Kwabina Gyapon the present Omanhene was placed on the stool.

The Tribe Bekwai.

The Bekwais are Ahwinifu - Beads - I have been endeavouring to convince them to explain to me as to how and why the came to be in the Ahwini tribe but I could not get them to give me proper explanation.

The Appellation for Bekwai herself is Kwakwadum, the same appellation applies to Assin Apiminien - but I could not get a man who could give me the meaning.

The District Companies.

The District of Bekwai is divided into three principal com-

panies viz. the Korenti, Akomu and Adomakua alias Twafo, Kyidom and Adontin.

(a) Korenti means - Holding the head of the District kura - to hold, ti - head.

(b) Akomu means - The Kyidom who generally remains with the Omanhin in time of war; the fight is strong he asked the Kyidom to go in hence ko - go; mu - in; Akomu - Those who go in.

(c) Adomakua means - when the Twafo and Kyidom are strongly engaged in fighting the Adontin are asked to remain with the Omanhene, hence adom - armies; akua - slave; - Armies' slave.

APPENDIX IV

Extracts from evidences given in respect of Land dispute between Omanhin Kweku Dua III of Sefwi Bekwai - Plaintiff vrs. Omanhin Kwamin Tandoh of Sefwi Wioso - Defendant.

Delivered on 27th October, 1921.

Script Written by J.J. Treacy - Acting judge.

The ownership was decided in 1915 by District Commissioner Ross of Wioso in a dispute as to boundaries between Sefwi Wioso and Sefwi Bekwai, that was given in Defendant's favour. Plaintiff counsel applied for leave to amend the writ.

The immediate cause which led to this action was as follows:-

"About twelve years ago the people living in the villages in the disputed area began to cultivate cocoa, when the trees came to maturity the Defendant sent to these villages to collect tribute on the crop. Contending that although the villages were Bekwai people still they were living on Wioso land by his permission and therefore liable to pay tribute on crops of commercial value such as cocoa.

The villagers objected and reported the matter to the chief of Bekwai who then launched the present action".

The story told by Bekwai witnesses is that "Long ago Bekwai chief lived at Ewumassie a village near the River Subre, that when the Bekwai people first occupied this place it was dense forest and was Ashanti land. At that time they also lived in a village called Kyiara at the other extreme of the disputed territory near the River Kyiara which Defendants now claim are their boundary. This was all just after Ashanti conquered the Denkeras which would be over 100 years ago, they together with the Wioso people, the Anhwiaso people and many others took the great oath of Ashanti to serve the King of Ashanti and they together with the Wioso were alloted to the chief of Bantama one of the principal Ashanti chiefs through whom they always had to approach the king of Ashanti. There was never any question of paramountcy or tribute as between themselves and the Wioso stool, they both served the king of Ashanti on the equal footing. Some time after this two men one a Bekwai man called Essiam and the other a Wioso man named Beniah gambled together and Essiam lost a large sum of money on these being reported to then Bekwai chief of Ewumassie, he paid the debt. Some time after these two men met and gambled again, Beniah staked the Wioso village of Aferi and lost it, but then refused to pay the sum necessary to redeem the village. Upon this Essiam reported the matter to his chief Gyaben who reported to the king of Ashanti whereupon the king of Ashanti sent messengers to go into the matter and

settle it. Wioso is near to Coomassie than Ewunassie so the messengers sent for Gyaben to meet them there and he accordingly went. The affair was investigated and decided in favour of the Bekwai chief.

The Wioso chief whose name was Okumdom a word which according to the Wioso witnesses mean "Great conquerer and according to the Bekwai witnesses a child conceived or born during a war refused to accept the decision and the parties begun fighting. Neither side was victorious in that fight and Gyaben returned to Ewunassie. When he got there he found that all the women had removed to Bekwai a village also on his land beyond the Kyiara; after some time at the request of his elders he too went to Bekwai and finding it a nice place stopped down there but after a year the chief goes to worship the River Subure and stays at Ewunassie. The land in dispute is Bekwai land, no tribute has ever been paid for it since the king of Ashanti was defeated by Government. The first occasion on which any suggestion of right to tribute was made by defendant was this time when he sent to levy on the cocoa which the Bekwai people had successfully cultivated.

The Defendant's story is that "Originally they lived at a place Tekyiman from which they moved to Asaman a village on the same side of the River Subure as the present Wioso village while they were living there a Bekwai man came to the chief of Wioso and asked for a place to live so the Wioso chief gave him Ewumassie. The Bekwai people then amount in all to only 100 people and they settled at Ewumassie and their Headman became a sub-chief of Wioso. From time to time as the Bekwai tribe increased different members of it desired to found village and accordingly they came to the Wioso chief who in each instance upon their paying a certain fee and taking his fetish to pay tribute to him were granted land always on the far side of the Subure from Wioso and to all the villages in the dispute area except one which I shall deal with later came into existence and large Bekwai community paying tribute to the Wioso stool sprung up. To put the matter in a shorter manner at the time that the Bekwai chief lived at Ewumassie from himself downwards he and all his people paid tribute to the Wioso stool. That is they paid a yearly toll on everything which the land produced outside crops grown for their own support. The things especially referred to as subject to toll were, snails, rubber, gold and portions of any game killed. Then came the gamble referred to in the evidence of the Plantiffes witness. The whole of the series of transactions relating to it are reversed in the story told by the witnesses for the Defendant. According to them the first "coup" was won by the Bekwai man and immediately paid. The first meeting they say took place at Aferi village the village which Plaintiff alleged Defendant failed to redeem. At this meeting the Wioso man lost £80. Os. Od. which was promptly paid, the Wioso man's name is given by them not as Beniah but as Edu Kwasi. I think it may be taken however that this apparent contradiction as the name of the Wioso

representative amounts to nothing as different witnesses frequently refer to the same person by different names. The defendant's witnesses swear that at the first gamble at Aferi Edu Kwasi alias Beniah lost £80 which was paid by the Elders of his village, that the two men met again and Essiam lost £60 and refused to pay that then Edu Kwasi reported the matter to Okumdom the Wioso chief who immediately sent for Gyaben his Bekwai subchief, head of the Bekwai people who came to Wioso but refused to pay his subject's debt. That Gyaben then left and when messengers were sent after him he opened fires upon them and killed Okumdom's son on hearing which Okumdom brought out the Wioso army and pursued Gyaben but only succeeded in capturing his sword bearer and wife as Gyaben fled to Coomassie with his people. When Okumdom reached Ewumassie he found the place deserted and burnt it to the ground. Gyaben was afraid to return to Ewumassie and remained in Ashanti and died there. His successor being a Sefwiman and wishing to return to his country went to the chief of Sefwi Anhwiase and asked him for a place to settle in and was given the present site of Bekwai village then known as Assiasu. The defendant's witnesses all protest that though they owed allegiance an expression by which apparently they mean were allied to the first Denkaras and later the Ashantis that they never paid aid tribute or were in any bound to any one. The defendants go one step further than proving their own case. They fix the River Kyiara as their own boundary but they say that is their boundary not with the plaintiffs but with the stool of Sefwi Anhwiaso from whom the plaintiffs held that portion of their lands so that the defendants case is that the Bekwai people are a people entirely without land of their own who are allowed by the stools of Sefwi Anhwiaso and Sefwi Wioso to occupy the District which they now inhabit".

It was ruled that the disputed land either belonged to the chief of Anhwiaso and not Wioso and that the chief of the latter could not claim tolls.

SEFWI WIAWSO

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. I belong to the Asenkera clan.

Q. What are the names and greetings associated with your ntoro?

A. The greetings associated with my ntoro is "Amu".

Q. Where did you come from to settle in Wiawso?

A. We emigrated from Tekyiman.

Q. Why did you leave your former place?

A. There was intensive war in the area so our elders decided to leave for a peaceful place.

Q. Who was your leader?

A. Our leader was called Boa-Ankye.

Q. Why did you name the state Wiawso?

A. When our elders came to this area Nana Kwasi Bumamkama selected this particular area as his hunting ground. It came about that some of the royalists started to farm. They planted groundnuts and since the groundnuts required sunny weather the royalists always looked at the sun to decide when to close from work. But all the time when they looked up, they told the workers that "The sun is up" (Owia wo suro). This means it was not yet dark. This game rise to the name of "Wiawso".

Q. Could you give me the list of your kings and queens?

A. <u>Kings</u>

1. Afum Kooko
2. Esomowe
3. Amekye
4. Ekyia (destooled)
5. Kwasi Bumankama
6. Mkua Okodo m
7. Aduhene I
8. Kwaku Kye
9. Kwaku Mkua

10. Kwasi Gyebi
11. Kwame Tano
12. Kwame Tano II (destooled)
13. Kwame Nkua (destooled)
14. Kofi Ahenkora (destooled)
15. Kojo Aduhene II - Reigning.

Q. Nana, when were you enstooled?

A. 20 July, 1953.

Q. Why is it that the earlier kings were not destooled?

A. In the olden days kings were not destooled except when the king had violated certain recognised taboos of the state.

Q. Why is it that the recent kings are destooled?

A. This may be partly due to Western civilization. In the olden days people respected authority and did not unnecessarily envy others.

Q. Tell me what happened in the reign of Nana Bummankama?

A. Nana Kwasi Bumankama founded the town of Wiawsŏ. In other words he settled at Wiawso before others came to join him.

Q. In which wa r did Nana Nkua Okomdom fight?

A. He fought the Aowin.

Q. In the olden days where was the boundary of the Aowin territory?

A. There was no specific boundary. The Aowin were settling part of this vast forest and we were also occupying the other part. What happened was that, the land belonged to nobody but if any group proved more powerful it could push the weaker group out.

Q. Which states have been your neighbours?

A. The Dormaa, Ashanti, Sefwi Anhwiaso, Wasa Amanfi, Aowin and the Ivory Coast.

Q. What has been the relationship between your state and the neighbouring states?

A. We speak the same language as the people of Sefwi

Ahwiaso and the Aowin. There is thus mutual understanding between us. Even when serious disputes occur in any of the states it would be brought to me for arbitration.

Q. Nana, could you give me the list of queen mothers?

A. There are two kinds of the Ahemaa. We have the Ahemaa and the Abakoma Ahemaa.

Ahemaa

1. Nana Adua
2. Nana Asonima
3. Nana Yaa Ngaye
4. Nana Abena Afora II
5. Nana Adwo Amoah
6. Nana Adade
7. Nana Amma Sari I
8. Nana Sentroben
9. Nana Amma Sari II

Abakoma

1. Nana Kokor
2. Adwo Mera
3. Nana Amma Adade
4. Nana Amma Dappa
5. Nana Akosua Bona.

Q. Could you explain the significance of the Adwa (stool)?

A. The Abakoma stool is also a great one. In the olden days when wars were rife, the Abakoma Hemaa gathered the women to perform the "Momome" ceremony. The "Momome" ceremony was a custom performed by the women during wars and in times of national calamity. During wartime the Abakoma Hemaa could put on the king's dress. They sang whilst walking to and fro the main street, and prayed to the gods and the ancestors for victory. Therefore the Abakoma queenmother is equally important as the Ohemaa.

Q. So you also have Abakomahene?

A. Yes, in the olden dayshe was the deputy Omanhene. He became virtually the Omanhene when the reigning king

was away. It has now, however, been realised that the system of having a deputy king could lead to palace disorder so the traditional council has abolished the office. In its stead the occupant of the Abakoma stool is now the head of the royal family.

Q. How did you elect the Abankomahene?

A. He was chosen from the royal family.

Q. Was the Abakomahene staying at Wiawso?

A. He could stay at Wiawso but often he stayed at his village.

Q. Which of the kings went to war?

A. Nana Aduhene I went to war. He was shot but he never died. This led to the title Nana Aduhene "a oko gye abbo" (who could received bullets).

Q. Which war did he fight?

A. We joined the Asante army against the Fantes.

Q. Who was Ebiri Moro?

A. Ebiri Moro was a great chief in the Ahafo area. It was after Ebiri Moro had been defeated that the Asantes annexed that territory. Even we fought Ebiri Moro since we formed part of the Asante army.

Q. How did Nana Mkua get the title "Okomdom".

A. He fought the Aowin under their king Ebiri-mpono. Nana Nkua drove the Aowin away and in fact it can be said that he extended the Sefwi state. It was as a result of this war that he earned the title "Okomdom" (destroyer of battalions).

Q. Nana, what sort of relationship existed between your state and the Denkyira?

A. We were not really under the Denkyira. What really existed was that the king of Denkyira could request for, say, gold and if the king had any he could send it to him. What we knew of Denkyira was their hard-heartedness.

Q. What symbol had been placed on your most important sword?

A. There are many state swords. But on one has been modelled an elephant on which sits "Adoa". It signifies the status of the small animal "Adowa" the king who rides on the elephant the biggest of animals.

Q. What symbol has been placed on the leading umbralla?

A. The same symbol on the state sword. However we have many umbrellas.

Q. What is expressed when the "Twenisin" drum is beaten?

A. They mean "Adee beba daabi" - There will be better prospects in future.

Q. Why do they sound "Adee beba daabi"?

A. In the olden days during the reign of Nana Bumankama the stool was poor. It was during his reign that the digging for gold started. Later on the hunters could bring adequate game when they went out to hunt. These were indicative of future prosperity.

Q. What are the oaths of your state?

A. Almost all the chiefs had his oath necessitated by a specific issue. But the most popular one is "Tiko ne Asantewa". Quite recently as a result of the maltreatments posed on me by the C.P.P government we have added another oath, namely "Nana Aduhene Amantuo".

Q. How did the "Tiko ne Asantewa" come to be adopted?

A. Nana had a new haircut when his mother called Asantewa died. Nana was expected to shave the hair again.

Q. What are the penalties attached to each.

A. Any defaulter is fined.

Q. Nana, what do you do to anybody who refuses to pay the fine?

A. In the olden days such a person would be killed. Nowadays such a person would be sent to the police.

Q. What are the Asafohene who help you to rule?

A. Kontihene, Kyidom, Dwirasam, Adontenhene, Benkumhene,

Gyasehene, Nifahene. We have also the royal towns comprising - Asafo, Kojina, Buako, Asanteman and Ahwia. In the palace the chiefs of the above towns are more powerful than the other chiefs.

Q. How did you give each town a specific position in the kingdom?

A. In the olden days the children of the king were thought trustworthy and more cooperative. Hence we find that the Benkumhene, the Nifahene, Adontenhene and Kyidomhene are all children of the kings.

Q. What functions does each town perform during your festivals?

A. There are certain towns who are entitled to bring yam, meat and other foodstuffs. The Abesi group is entitled to "catch crabs" which is later hanged around the neck of the king before the festival begins. The crab is caught from a particular river. Some are to watch the stool and etc.

Q. How did you get guns and powder to go to the wars?

A. We bought guns from a place called Kankyiabo.

Q. How did you get weavers to make your clothes?

A. If we heard of any skilled cloth weaver we sent for him.

Q. When the cloth weaver comes do you permit him to weave cloth for other people?

A. Certain patterns are exclusive royal rights and although we allowed the weaver to weave for others nobody can ask of that which the king has requested.

Q. When the Europeans had not come to our country could our elders manufacture their own guns?

A. According to our elders we could make our guns.

Q. How did they obtain the iron and steel to make the gun?

A. It is something I have been wandering at myself. There is a specific place in the River Tano near Bopa where our elders could obtain swords, cutlasses and other steels. This area is known as Bopapre.

Q. What activities do the people engage in nowadays?

A. They mostly catch fish.

Q. What are the main gods of your state?

A. The main god is Sobre. It is a River.

Q. What have been some of its achievements?

A. It helped during wars.

Q. Does it kill?

A. If one offends it, the offender is either killed or becomes insane.

Q. How was it acquired?

A. Someone acquired it from the river. When someone was possessed the god announced that it had come to deliver and help Sefwis.

Q. Does it have any priest at present?

A. Yes.

Q. Is there anything that the Omanhene has to send to Sobre Konfoo annually?

A. Yes. Before festival sobre konfoo (priest) is informed and provided with drinks.

Q. What is the name of the festival celebrated here?

A. In Sefwi it is called "Eluo ' (Yam) :

Q. Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. Even before the arrival of the Europeans our elders knew that a year consisted of twelve months. Thus every year the stools must be given food. Our ancestors are thanked for their help and for watching carefully over us.

Q. In the olden days if it came that there was war and you could not celebrate the festival, what did you do to inform the ancestors?

A. We postponed it and poured a libation informing the ancestors about the inconveniences.

Q. Has there ever been any land disputes?

A. We had a land dispute with the Anhwiaso. This started during the reign of Nana Kofi Ahonkora we also had

land dispute with Dormahene. This was settled at Sunyani. It was found necessary to mark out the boundary.

Q. During whose reign was gun powder firstly used?

A. During the reign of Nana Kwasi Bumankama.

Q. Has there ever been any written records?

A. No.

PANEL

Nana Kojo Aduhene II, Omanhene of Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area.

Nana Kwame Nkua, Odekye Panin.

Q. Which town is Dwirasamhene

A. Kojokrom.

AFERE

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. Asona.

Q. What other clans do you have in this town?

A. Agona.

Q. What are the taboos of your clan?

A. We observe the taboos of our fathers. I do not know if there is any taboo for our clan.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. Akyim Oda.

Q. Who was your leader?

A. Nana Antwiwaa.

Q. Why did you leave Akyim Oda?

A. There was war in the state so Nana decided to leave for a peaceful place.

Q. Did Nana Antwiwaa come alone or she was accompanied by other people?

A. Nana Antwiwaa came to meet Nana Nkua Okodem, the then Omanhene of Wiawso state, with other elders. Nana Antwiwaa later married to an elder in Sefwi.

Q. Who was your leader while coming to stay at Afere here?

A. Nana Kyese Kwame.

Q. Why did you leave Wiawso?

A. There was gold deposits at the present site of Afere. So Nana Kyese decided to come to exploit this gold. He was accompanied by many of his relatives.

Q. What is your role in the government of Wiawso state?

A. During the celebration of festival it is our duty to catch a crab which is later hang around the neck of Omanhene. I occupy the Akwamu stool in Sefwi-Wiawso state.

Q. Who was the first chief of your town?

A. Nana Kyiapa.

Q. What language were you speaking when you first came to Sefwi?

A. Twi language.

Q. Did you meet anybody when you came to settle here?

A. We did not meet anybody.

Q. Was there any indication that people had lived or stayed here before?

A. No.

Q. How did your town get its name 'Afere'?

A. When we left Wiawso we stayed near Amoaya, at a place called Donkoto. There was a land dispute between Amoaya and Antobia during which we were summoned as witness for the Antobia people. After the case had been settled the Amoaya people felt that we had been ungrateful to them because they gave us land on which we could dig for gold, and anything at all, we should have spoken in their favour and not Antobia. This accusation by Amoaya and continues proverbial abuses were becoming, unbecoming, and as we had arranged for a land near Akyiakyie, we finally decided to leave the land of Amoaya for our new land near Akyiakyie before possible civil war starts. When we left Donkoto for our new place we decided to name the town "Afere" - meaning "you are ashamed" (refering to the Amoaya). That is the meaning of this town Afere.

Q. Where was the case settled?

A. It was first settled at Wiawso but later taken to Sekondi for an appeal.

Q. Which towns were your neighbours when you came to stay here?

A. Dumbu, Antobia, Bonzan or Bonsina, and Amoaya.

Q. What was the relationship between you and your neighbours?

A. There was peaceful relations.

Q. Could you give the list of chiefs who have once occupied your stool?

A. They are as follows:

Nana Akyiapa
Nana Kesse
Nana Bonsu
Nana Nkua I.
Nana Atta-Afukaa
Nana Kwasi Arma I.
Nana Kwasi Arma II.
Nana Nkua II.
Nana Yaw Nti
Nana Asemia or Nkua III.
Nana Kwame Nkua IV (Reigning).

A. Queen-mothers: Nana Antwiwaa.
Nana Asó Akosua
Nana Antwiwaa
Nana Adwoa Asó
Nana Akua Adua
Nana Akua Ago
Nana Abena Ampomaa (Reigning).

Q. Which of the chiefs did something for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Nkua I. It was during his reign that cocoa became important cash crop. He farmed extensively and so the stool became very rich.

Q. Which of the chiefs went to war?

A. Nana Kyiapa. He fought the Aowin war. Nana Nkua I. also fought the Nzima war. In all cases Sefwi became victorious.

Q. What does it mean when your horn is blown - what does it say?

A. It says - "Nana tena koom" - (Nana sits quietly).

Q. What is the symbol on your leading state-sword?

A. The symbol is a porcupine on a wooden tree - "Sò apèsè Òkyc-a, Òkyc ma edufrue" (Sefwi) - That is, "If a porcupine grows fat it does so in praises of a wooden tree (its landlord -because it sleeps in a wooden tree). This in actual sense means that when Nana wins any praises he does so for the Omanhene, because it is the Omanhene who controls him.

Q. During whose reign was this state-sword made?

A. During Nana Nkua I.'s reign.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. 'Nana Wiawso'.

Q. During whose reign and why did he adopt this oath?

A. Nana Nkua I. He went to Wiawso with his subjects. While there one of his subjects died. The next day another one died. Hence the adoption of this oath.

Q. What is the penalty associated with this oath?

A. The fine is not fixed. The chief and his elders decide how much fine should be imposed on a defaulter. It however ranges from 10s.6d to £2. 2s., depending, of course, on the gravity of the offence and circumstances.

Q. How is justice administered in your town?

A. My elders and others assemble in my palace and the case is looked into. Virdit is given after the panel has heard the statements of the combatants or the accused and the plaintiff.

Q. What role do you play when Omanhene is either enstooled or destooled in Sefwi-Wiawso state?

A. I accompany the other chiefs in decision makings. Every decision is taken unanimously. I do not have a separate role in such cases.

Q. How do you enstool a chief in your town, here?

A. A candidate is chosen from the royal family by the Queen-mother who later presents him to Gyasehene and Werempimhene. After these people have known the candidate then the other sub-chief, in the case of Omanhene - Nifahene, Benkumhene and Krontihene, are informed. The candidate is then presented to Omanhene who either asks the entire people to come to Wiawso for the enstoolment ceremony or he asks three of his divisional chiefs to come here to help the elders of this town to make the enstoolment.

Q. What is the rule of inheritance?

A. It is matrilineal but the brothers are considered first before the nephews.

Q. What is the main god of your town?

A. Dɛ̀ntɛ́.

Q. How did you get the god 'Dɛ̀ntɛ́?

A. We do not know how our elders got it. It was brought here for a long time.

Q. How is Dɛ̀ntɛ́ worshipped?

A. It is worshipped with sheep or fowls and palm wine or any other drink at all. It has a priestess and during days of worship miracles are greatly performed.

Q. What is the taboo of Dɛ̀ntɛ́?

A. Dog.

Q. What has been the achievements of Dɛ̀ntɛ́?

A. It has helped to bring abundant children. It brings prosperity and longevity.

Q. What is the main festival of your town?

A. 'Ãlüɔlue'. After the Omanhene has celebrated his festival then I also celebrates mine.

Q. Why do you celebrate the festival?

A. To remember and give food to our ancestors.

Q. Could you tell me your funeral rites?

A. When anybody dies, especially an elder of the town, it is not announced to the public for at times four or five days. After that it is publicly announced for people to come and mourn the deceased. During the burial, clothes and personal properties are put in the coffin. Money is also put in the coffin, but usually tied to a cloth, to help the deceased in his or her journey.

Q. Could you also tell me your marriage rites?

A. When a boy grows up to a marriageable age, the father is obliged to marry for him (the son). The son during boyhood is expected to accumulate some money which is often kept by the father. The father subsidizes this amount to perform the marriage rites and the ceremony which is known as 'Tiri nsa' or 'head wine' which recognizes the girl as a wife to the boy. At this occasion three holes are dug on the ground and salt put into each hole. Libation is then poured for peaceful marriage, abundant children, long lives for the couple and prosperity. This is followed by another ceremony whereby a'large fufu' is cooked by the husband for the bride followed by another by the bride to the groom, before the bride goes finally to live with the man in his house.

Q. Was there any standing army?

A. No. When there is any war the gong-gong is beaten to assemble all the male adults. I then provide them with gun-powder and they all go to war.

Q. What is done to anybody who fails to go to war?

A. Anybody could have sex with his wife or wives without any fee or fine.

Q. What weapon did you use for war?

A. Before the arrival of the Europeans we fought with stones and battons. After the arrival of the Europeans we had guns from them.

Q. Have you got Asafo drum here?

A. We do not have any. Our elders, during the reign of Nana Nkua I, they played Asafo and their company's name was called 'Antobea'.

Q. What was the taboo of the Asafo?

A. A menstruated woman should not touch it.

Q. What was your source of revenue?

A. Gold mining and trading.

Q. How did you get the gold?

A. It was dug from the ground and later washed to extract the gold.

Q. How did you measure the value of the gold so as to make it possible to be traded with?

A. Scales were used to weigh the gold dust.

Q. Could any young man go out to dig for the gold.

A. The work involved was so much that an unmarried man or a single person could not go to dig for the gold alone. The gold was dug usually by families or a group of people.

Q. How did the chief becomes richer than anybody else in a town?

A. In the olden days the chiefs had many wives and children who could go out to dig for the gold. Anybody who found a gold lump also sent it to the chief to take a share.

Q. Where did the people go to trade?

A. Oguaa (Cape Coast), and the North.

Q. Which territories or kingdoms did you pass to the coast?

A. We passed through the Denkyira kingdom.

Q. How did you get a sleeping place and how did you get food to eat during your journeys?

A. We were given open rooms to sleep, but we bought food from the house owners.

Q. What did you do when one of you died on the way?

A. If anybody died before we reached the coast his goods were preserved in the house of the chief of that town and we later send one of our people to go for the load. If he dies when returning home, the same thing is done.

Q. Do you know of any notorious highwayman who lived in Sefwi?

A. He was called Kwame Abê. He was an Asante who killed many traders and got away with their goods.

Q. What items did you buy from the coast?

A. Salt, tobacco and guns.

Q. What did you buy from the North?

A. Shea butter, blankets and beads.

Q. Could you give me the names of some of the blankets you bought from the North?

A. Bomo, Nsaa, Kasa etc.

Q. You said you bought beads, what are the names of some of those beads?

A. Tete-asɔ, Ahwenepa, ntwema, etc.

Q. Did you buy slaves from the North, and if so how much did each cost?

A. We bought slaves. We even exchanged some for calico and other clothes. Some also cost about £4 or even as low as 10s, especially the children below 20 years.

Q. Why did you buy the slaves?

A. The slaves bought are incorporated into the owner's family. They become his subjects. Some of the women are married and brought forth for him.

Q. Did you perform any rites when you marry the slave?

A. No. You don't perform anything. After all the slave is your own property.

Q. Could any of the issues from this marriage inherit his father?

A. The child could inherit his father because he becomes a member of the family.

Q. Have there been any land dispute?

A. We have a land at Akyiakyie which the Benchemahene disputed with us. The case was settled at the Omanhene's palace and we were declared victorious.

Q. Have there been any constitutional disputes?

A. No.

Q. Have there been any written records in either English, Arabic or any other language which you have in your possession and that we can see?

A. No.

P A N E L

Nana Kwame Nkua IV. (Akwamuhene).

Opanin Yaw Manso - Okyeame (Linguist)

Opanin Kwadwo Appia - Okyeame Panin (Chief Linguist)

Opanin Adu Kofi, - Elder

Opanin Kofi Owusu - Gyasehene

Opanin Adu Kwadwo - Elder

Obaa-Panin Abena Ampomaa.

AHIBENSO

Q. Which clan do you belong to?

A. Asona.

Q. What is the taboo associated with your clan?

A. A snake called Asonawoo.

Q. Why do you have this snake as your taboo?

A. There is a story that an elder of our clan saw this make lying on the fork of a tree and he died as a result.

Q. What are the greetings associated with your clan?

A. Ya Asonana.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. Wenchi in the Brong Ahafo region.

Q. Why did you migrate from Wenchi?

A. There was an internal war so our elders thought to take leave of the place.

Q. Who was your leader?

A. Nana Adu Kokore.

Q. Why did you call your town Ahibenso?

A. While Nana Adu Kokore and Nana Kwaku Fuachie and elders were settling at Aprutu where they were hunting, Nana Kwaku Fuachie I built a hut at Ahibenso. It was later found that the place was rich in gold, so Nana sent for the family to settle there. But the place was covered with "Kyiben" Atwetwebo , hence the name Kyibenso which has been modified to Ahibenso.

Q. Whom did you meet when you settled here?

A. We first met Nana Mkua Okodom who gave us land at Dayame.

Q. Why did you leave Dayame?

A. There was population pressure in Wiawso area where all clans were settled so Nana decided to leave.

Q. What was the relationship between you and the people you met?

A. Peaceful relationship.

Q. What language did you speak?

A. Bono.

Q. Which states have been your neighbours?

A. Bodi, Elubo , Adiemra and Akwantomera.

Q. What has been the relationship between your state and the neighbouring states? Bodi

A. Peaceful relationship. However there was land dispute with which was peacefully settled at Nana Aduhene II's palace.

Q. Could you give the list of your chiefs?

A. 1. Nana Adu Kokore
2. Armah Bere
3. Aseidu Ketewa.
4. Kojo Kra
5. Amo Kwaku
6. Gyambra
7. Kwaku Fuachie I
8. Adu Kwabena
9. Kwabena Fuachie
10. Kwaku Appiah - destooled
11. Kojo Oppong - destooled
12. Kwaku Fuachie II - destooled
13. Kojo Oppong - destooled
14. Kofi Afum - reigning

Q. Could you give the list of queenmothers?

A. 1.Abena Sakyiwa
2.Adwo Donkor
3.Afua Tamewa
4.Akua Nkrumah.

Q. Could you give the name of a contemporary king in Asante of any of the above-named chiefs?

A. Nana Adu Kokore was reigning while Nana Opoku Ware I was reigning at Kumasi.

Q. Why do you have few queenmothers?

A. This is because this institution is recently instituted.

Q. Which of the chiefs went to war?

A. Nana Adu Kokore fought the Nzimas under Kwaku Ackaa. He also fought the Aowin.

Q. Why did you fight the Nzimas and the Aowins?

A. The Omanhene was in friendly relationship with the Asantehene so we had to assist the Asantes. As we embarked on wars of expansion we came in contact with the Aowins whom we defeated.

Q. What has been the achievement of any of the chiefs for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Kwaku Fauchie I bought many slaves. He also had more than hundred children.

Q. Any appellations of the chiefs?

A. Nana Adu Kokore was nicknamed Adu "Kokongi". This is because he was very warlike and he also won the wars. Nana Kwaku Fuachie I was also named Fuachie "Kotobo". This is because he was diligent and made the stool prosperous.

Q. What are the oaths of your state?

A. The Oath is "Mone kyea".

Q. Why did you adopt this oath?

A. This is because Nana Adu Koko re lost both his uncle and sister on the same fateful Saturday (Mone kyia).

Q. What was the penalty associated with this oath?

A. Any defaulter was fined 4s. If he failed to pay, he was whipped.

Q. What symbol has been placed on your leading umbrella?

A. Palm tree.

Q. Why did you choose this emblem?

A. This meant all trees would shed their leaves but not palm tree. Nana Adu Kokore was never exhausted to go to war.

Q. What is the role of your king in the government of the Sefwi state?

A. We are in charge of the state's god, sobre.

Q. Why are you the keepers of the sobre god?

A. This is because Nana Adu Kokore was the only chief to go

to the Gyaman wars when the chiefs in Sefwi were asked to join the Asante army. The god sobre was carried along with the army during wars, so when Nana came out triumphantly the Omanhene asked him to care for sobre.

Q. What are the subchiefs under you?

A. Aprutu and Nzawora.

Q. What is the rule of succession in your town?

A. Succession is matrilineal.

Q. What has been the achievement of sobre?

A. It has helped Sefwis to be successful in many wars.

Q. What is the main god of your own town?

A. Yoohunu.

Q. Where did you get Yoohunu?

A. Aowin.

Q. What has been the achievement of Yoohunu?

A. It has helped to bring abundant children. It also helped in our wars.

Q. What is the taboo of Yoohunu?

A. A woman should not come near the people when it is being worshipped.

Q. What do you use to worship Yoohunu?

A. Dog and hen.

Q. What will happen if Yoohunu is not worshipped?

A. There is possibility of famine and high death rate to occur in our town.

Q. Do you send anything to Omanhene during festivals?

A. No. This is because we are the caretaker of the great god sobre.

Q. What is the symbol on your main state sword?

A. Plantain.

Q. Why did you choose this?

A. This means that our Asona clan like the plantain never passes away.

Q. What do people mean when the horn is blown?

A. They mean "Woda adaka amena mu a wotiri te" -

meaning whatever, happens everybody will die.

Q. What do they mean when people beat the "Twinisini" drum?

A. They mean "ka bese kuro gu" - means left to our enemies our town might have been disintegrated. This was because Nana Adu Kokore was hated by his neighbours owing to his achievements.

Q. How do you call the festival in your town?

A. Alueluo.

Q. Why do you celebrate the Alueluo festival?

A. To remember the ancestors and to herald the new farming season.

Q. What happened if you fail to celebrate the Aluolue festival

A. There would be destruction of our community. If any incident occurs we pour libation to inform the ancestors.

Q. What do you do during the celebration of Alueluo?

A. We make merry amidst drumming and singing. We provide drinks and sheep and marshed yam for the ancestral stools. The king sits in palaquin and procession is taken.

Q. What are the main marriage rites of your state?

A. In the olden days parents married for their sons. While young, the child gave any amount he had to the father. Thus when the amount amassed reached "Piredwan nsie" (£8 6s.) then he married for him.

Q. Why did you marry for your sons?

A. It is the duty of the father to care for the good conduct of his son. He married for the son to avoid adultery.

Q. Explain how you performed services for the in-laws.

A. In the olden days it was the duty of the husband to do services for the in-laws. It was to some extent an attempt to bring closeness and friendliness between the two groups.

Q. What are the customary rites in your funeral celebrations?

A. When a chief died the corpse was left for days before it was announced publicly that the king had died. Musketry were fired and "apenden" songs were song.

Q. Who pays the debt of such a funeral.

A. The inheritor had to pay.

Q. What are the naming rites of your child?

A. In the naming of any child the people whose response to greetings is "Amu" are qualified by tradition to name the child. This is because the "Amu" people are believed to be the linguists.

Q. How is justice administered in your town?

A. Nana and elders constitute the panel. Statements are made and judgement issued based on the available facts.

Q. Did you have any standing army?

A. No.

Q. How did you recruit people for the war?

A. Gong gongs were beaten and all adults were summoned.

Q. What was the penalty inflicted on anybody who failed to go to war?

A. Anybody could have an affair with his wife without any trouble ensuing from it.

Q. What did you use in your wars?

A. Guns and powder.

Q. Where did you get the guns?

A. Kankyiabo.

Q. What was the source of your revenue?

A. We dug for gold, we also traded with the north and the coastal people.

Q. How did Nana get the gold?

A. He had his wives and children who dug gold for him. His subjects also gave shares to the chief when they had enough. In addition to this, a day was chosen when everybody was entitled to dig gold for Nana.

Q. What goods did you buy from the coast?

A. Tobacco, salt and clothes.

Q. What did you take to the coast?

A. We only took the gold dust.

Q. How did you know that the gold was worth such an amount?

A. We had scales and the gold was measured on them.

Q. How did you cross rivers when you were travelling to the coast?

A. There were people living near these rivers who had canoes. We were charged 6d. per trip.

Q. Did you pay any tax on entering any kingdom?

A. No tax was paid. In the olden days people were often caught and detained without any reason when you entered any kingdom. If such a person was detained the chief had to pay some amount before the person was released.

Q. How did you get a place to lodge when you reached any town?

A. We went from house to house and begged for a room. However such a room was in most cases a "pato" - a verander.

Q. Did you pay anything to the landlord?

A. No. You could however buy something as a reward for the landlord on your return journey.

Q. What goods did you buy from the north?

A. Clothes such as Mossi, Akwansomdenje and "wone payin a due;" blankets such as kasa, bomo and nzaa.

Q. Did you trade in kola nuts?

A. There was little trade in kola nuts to the north.

Q. How did you get the slaves from the north?

A. There was war in the north caused by Samouri and Kasari which made people available to be bought. Moreover as a result of the war, famine occurred which compelled some families to sell their relatives into slavery.

Q. Are there any ancient sites here?

A. Yes. They are Dodoasa, Kojobiri and Manimere.

Q. What can be seen in such places?

A. Cemetries, pop trees, and many ancient documents.

Q. Has there been any land dispute?

A. Yes. There was a land dispute between us and Kojokrom during the reign of Nana Kwame Tano, Omanhene of Wiawso. Ahibenso was found guilty.

Q. Has there been any written records?

A. No.

PANEL

Nana Kofi Afum
Opayin Kwaku Eba Abusua Payin
Ekyea Kojo - Oheneba
Opayin Kwaku Fuachie - ex-chief
Kwasi Apaa - Okyeame
Kwasi Kyirika - Kontihene
Adu Yaw - Okeame
Amo Kwaku - Okyeame
Opayin Kwame Kanka.

AHWIA

Q. What clan do you belong to?
A. Oyoko.
Q. What are the names and greetings associated with your ntoro?
A. Obre.
Q. Where did you come from to settle here?
A. Wiawso.
Q. Why did you leave Wiawso to Ahwia?
A. When Wiawso was engaged in many wars the Wiawso Omanhene instructed us to come to stay at this place so as to give information of any invading army.
Q. How did you travel to Ahwia?
A. We travelled on foot.
Q. Who was your leader?
A. Afum Payin.
Q. Whom did you meet on arriving here?
A. Afukaa Kofi and his people.
Q. What was the type of relationship between you and Afukaa Kofi?
A. Peaceful relationship.
Q. Why do you call your town Ahwia?
A. After we had settled at Ahwia the Omanhene asked us if we had a suitable place to stay. We replied that "Ye hye ha ara" Hence Ahwia (meaning in Sefwi, "Ye hia wura).
Q. Why did the family of Nana Afum become the ruling family or clan?
A. Afukaa Kofi was a son of the Omanhene so when Afum Payin and his relatives arrived, he was instructed by Omanhene to rule. It must be noted that Afum Payin was the brother of Omanhene.
Q. Is the Oyoko clan still the ruling clan?
A. Yes.
Q. Which states have been your neighbours?
A. Awaso, Wasa and Bekwai.

Q. What has been the relationship between your state and the neighbouring states?

A. There was a land dispute with Awaso. This was settled at Sekondi High Court, with the ruling in our favour.

Q. Who was the Omanhene of Wiawso?

A. Nana Kwame Tano.

Q. Could you give me a list of your past kings?

A. Afum Payin
Adu Kroapo
Atta Asante
Asante Bekyere
Kwaw Ntori I
Kofi Nkua
Kojo Asante
Kwaw Ntori II reigning.

Queenmothers
Afua Nwua
Ahu Bakoni
Kokor Yaa
Afua Atei
Adwo Mnaa
Akua Nti
Adwo Dua

Q. Why has a new queenmother not been enstooled since the death of Adwo Dua?

A. This is because the female royalists are now left with small children.

Q. Tell me what happened in the reign of each of these kings with particular reference to·

Wars he fought, causes and results.

A. Nana Atta Asante fought in the Nzima wars.

Q. Who was the contemporary king of say, Kumasi or Denkyira?

A. Nana Afum Payin was ruling during the time of Opoku Ware I of Kumasi. The Denkyira Omanhene was called Kakari Gyamohinamo.

of Kumasi and the Denkyira King was Ntim Gyakari.

Q. Any appellations of the king and things for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Kwaw Ntori. He was brave and very outspoken on any issue. He was never in debt because he was rich.

Q. Which war did Nana Kwaw Ntori fight?

A. The Gyaman wars.

Q. Why did he go to the Gyaman wars?

A. The Asantehene was fighting the Gyamans so he sent one of his commanders Adu Bofoo to come and ask for Nana Kwaku Kye, Omanhene of Wiawso to help him in the wars. Nana Kwaku Kye thereupon sent Nana Kwaw Ntori to the war.

Q. Any appellations of Nana Kwaw Ntori?

A. He was Kwaw Ntori Basahia.

Q. Why was he called Kwaw Ntori Basahia?

A. This was because Nana could "stretch his hands to cover anything" (literally) in Twi "Nana nsa tumi hyia biribiara"

Q. What are the oaths of your state?

A. The reigning Omanhene is my brother, so I cannot tell you the meaning. The omanhene will do that when you go to him.

Q. What emblem has been placed on your leading umbrella?

A. The emblem is the Moon.

Q. Why did you choose the Moon?

A. This is because the Wiawso state belongs to us, the Oyoko clan; and so the moon indicates that we are big and powerful.

Q. During whose reign was this umbrella made?

A. Nana Asante Atta.

Q. What is the role of your king in the Government of Wiawso state?

A. We are Birinpon. We can be enstooled on the Wiawso stool.

Q. What are the wing chiefs under your rule?

A. Appiakrom, Ntretreso and Penckrom.

Q. What functions do they perform?

A. In the olden days they informed me of amy dispute in their towns. Nowadays, I am not informed of any

issue from their towns as it was the case in the past.

Q Why has there been a change?

A. This is because of civilization. Nana Omanhene could easily get in contact with any chief either through correspondence or by sending a bearer. Thus the role of middle men as me, is now not necessary.

Q. What are the rules of succession in your state?

A. This town follows the matrilineal inheritance pattern.

Q. Who is the first to be considered when the chief dies and a new one is to be enstooled?

A. A brother to the chief is first considered. However, this is not the case nowadays.

Q. What are the qualities expected of a man before he is enstooled?

A. A good conduct and hardworking man is usually elected. Infact such aperson has to be approved by the entire state.

Q. What is the main god of your state?

A. Sobre.

Q. Why did you choose Sobre as your state god?

A. Sobre has helped in many wars and in settling disputes.

Q. How is sobre worshipped?

A. Sobre is worshipped with sacrifices of dogs and "Odoka" (palm from raffia).

Q. Which emblem has been placed on your leading state sword?

A. Pineapples.

Q. Why did you choose this?

A. This is because for a long period we have been associated with the Omanhene's stool. Pineapple does not die off in a short time. Therefore we shall also remain royalists for all the time.

Q. What do they say when the Twinisini drum is beaten?

A. "Mo beba abeto me" (You will come to meet me).

Q. How did this come about?

A. During wars we formed part of the Kyidom contigent. So we were always ready awaiting for the enemies.

Q. What are the penalties attached to the breach of the oath?

A. In the olden days any breach of the oath could lead to the death of the defaulter or he could be fined £4 4s. Usually the defaulter could not pay the fine and he had to be sold or killed.

Q. What are the major festivals of your state?

A. Aluolue.

Q. Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. To provide food for the ancestors and to pray to them to take continual care of us.

Q. What would happen if something prevented you from performing this ceremony?

A. There will be a famine and sickness in the community. But there has been no occasion when this festival has not been celebrated. If anything happens we pour libation to inform the ancestors of what has occured.

Q. How do you celebrate funerals?

A. The Omanhene is informed. We fire musketry and people play drums. The death of a chief is not announced on the very day he dies.

Q. Who is to pay the debt in case a debt results from a funeral celebration of the chief?

A. The elders of the chief have to pay some of the amount. If there is more debt to be settled the successor is then asked to pay after enstoolment.

Q. What are the marriage rites of your town?

A. If the girl agrees to marry you, you then go to see the parents to give them drinks "tiri nsa".

Q. Had the child enough money to go to marry in the olden days?

A. What happened was this: during your youth, the father received all the money you got. He saved this money for you and when he found that you were grown up he went out to find a girl for you.

Q. What was the ceremony involved in the marriage?

A. In the "tiri nsa" ceremony three holes are dug, salt is put in each of the holes and then libation is poured.

Q. Why do you dig three holes?

A. This shows that the girl is legally married and if anybody has an affair with her the husband could sue him. The girl should not eat some of the salt because it is believed that she might not have a successful marriage if she tastes some of the salt.

Q. Could you tell me something about the services performed by men for their inlaws?

A. In the olden days the bridegroom was entitled to fell down trees to build houses and perform some services to the inlaws. In the olden days the daughter was supposed to help her parents in many ways and therefore if she was married the husband was to work on the wife's behalf.

Q. How is justice administered in your state?

A. There is a panel who listens to the views of the defendant and the complainant. Witnesses are called upon to give evidence. There is a group called "Apam" which goes out to discuss the case after all evidence has been heard and the case critically analysed. This group announces the verdict.

Q. Did you ever have a standing army?

A. No.

Q. How did you recruit an army?

A. Gong-gong was beaten to summon all the grown ups.

Q. What was done to anyone who refused to go to war?

A. The penalty was that if anybody had an affair with his wife no action could be taken against the culprit.

Q. What ammunitions did you use to go to the war?

A. Gun and powder.

Q. Where did you get the gun?

A. Kankyiabo in the Ivory Coast.

Q. Did every young man has a gun?

A. No. Usually the elders had gun which were given to the youngmen. Nana also had many guns which he distributed to the people.

Q. Have you any Asafo company?

A. We had Asafo in the olden days.

Q. Why have you stopped playing?

A. This is because the Europeans told us to stop it.

Q. What would happen if anybody came to steal the Asafo drums?

A. Nobody could attempt that. But if anybody did, there was likely to be war between our group and that group.

Q. How did you call the Asafo?

A. Ankobea.

Q. How did Nana get money?

A. We dug gold from the ground.

Q. How did you know that gold was at such and such a place?

A. Usually the river banks were dug to find out if there was gold.

Q. Could anybody go to dig for gold?

A. Only the elders could go to dig for gold.

Q. What proportion of the gold did Nana get?

A. There was a system known as "Abusa". Nana had one-third of every gold dug. In addition to this Nana had his wives and Gyasefoo who had to dig for gold for Nana.

Q. Did you trade to the coast?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you send to the coast?

A. We sent only gold.

Q. Could you make your own salt before the advent of the Europeans?

A. Yes. We could make salt from the peels of the plantain. This was dried and then burnt to ashes.

Q. What was the route to the coast?

A. The route was through the Sefwi Bekwai state, Denkyira,

Efutu, and then to Cape Coast.

Q. How long did you spend before you reached the coast?

A. We spent about 8 days.

Q. How did you cross the rivers when you came to them?

A. There were canoes.

Q. How much did you pay after you had crossed the river?

A. 6d.

Q. How did you got a place to lodge on reaching a town during your travels?

A. The leader went from house to house to request for a room. We were always given an open room (Dam prane) to lolge.

Q. Did you pay anything to the house owner?

A. No.

Q. What was the benefit of the house owner for allowing people to sleep in his room?

A. This free lodging was a common practice in all places. When someone also came to my house I did not charge him. What happened was that the strangers were asked to buy plantain from the house owner.

Q. What did you do if one of the traders die on going to trade?

A. We informed the Odikro and then bury him. We often found somebody to carry his baggage to be sold at the coast. If we could not get anybody we left his goods there and later come back to collect them.

Q. Have you dealt in kola trade?

A. No.

Q. Have you dealt in trade in other commodities in the North?

A. No.

Q. Has anybody written any history of your town?

A. No.

Q. How did you guard yourselves against highway men when you were going to the coast?

A. We went in large numbers.

Q. Do you know of any highway man who became known in Sefwi?

A. Kwame Abe.

Q. Who was Kwame Abe?

A. He was an Asante who attacked traders after which he took away their belongings.

Q. Why did Nana not beat the gong-gong for people to arrest Kwame Abe?

A. Kwame Abe had supernatural powers and he could hardly be seen if such announcement was made.

Q. Who was Ebiri Moro?

A. He was an Aowin.

Q. Do you know of any rich man who lived one time in Sefwi?

A. Nana Kwaw Ntori of Ahwia. He was very rich. He dried gold bars in the sun. When he adorned himself with gold, he had to support his hand on at least a dozen of men else he would be unable to move it.

PANEL

Nana Kwaw Ntori II, chief of Ahwia, age - 80 years.
Kwabena Asante, linguist, - 30 years
Kwaku Grama, 90 years.
Kwabena Aseeyiee, 88 years.
Kwame Sobre, 73 years.
Kwabena Asante, 40 years.
Abena Gyedu - Born in 1900
Kwasi Aha - was II during the influenza.
Kwabena Anto.

AKONTOMBRA

Q. Nana, what is the name of this town?

A. The real name is Akono-mra.

Q. How did this town come to be called Akono-mra.

A. It was due to war. The meaning is that we have been successful in our undertakings

Q. What is the ruling clan here?

A. Aduana - atwea - aberade.

Q. From where did Nananom (Aduana clan) come to occupy the ruling stool here.

A. Nananom moved from Asumanya.

Q. Why did Nananom move from Asumanya to settle here?

A. Because they wanted a more convenient place to stay. Thus Nananom came to consult the Omanhene of Wiawso for land and this is the place Omanhene offered us.

Q. Did your ancestors settle somewhere else before they w came to settle here?

A. Yes. When we moved from Asumanya we first settled at Nkotroso Sefwi.

Q. Should we go to Nkotroso what are the things we are likely to see?

A. There is the site of the old cemetry of Nananom (ancestors).

Q. Whom did you meet on your arrival at Nkotroso?

A. The whole place was covered with thick forest. Nobody was living here.

Q. Are there some people still staying there?

A. Yes, people still live there.

Q. What positions do Nkotroso and this town hold in Wiawso state?

A. The chief of this town, Nana Kwame Nkrumah, is the son (probably through family relations) of Kwadwo Aninɨ, the chief of Nkotroso.

Q. What is the relationship between the above mentioned towns?

A. The Odikro (custodian) of Akontombra owns the land. Nkotroso is also Odekuro.

Q. What is the rank of Nana in Sefwi Wiawso state?

A. I am the chief of Benkum division.

Q. Which are the small towns that pay homage to Omanhene through you?

A. Bokaso, Aburo-na-Ehia, Fa-wo-man, Boroni-kurom, Kwasikurom, Kwabenakurom, Besaase, Nkotroso, Bokaabo.

Q. Besides your Aduana clan what other clans do you have in this town?

A. Ekoona, Asona..

Q. Why is it that Aduana is the ruling clan while there are Ekoona and Asona also?

A. It is because the two other clans came here as a result of marriage.

Q. Since the town was established has the Aduana been the only ruling clan?

A. Yes.

Q. What states do you share boundaries with or have been your neighbours?

A. Aowin, Bodi, Franse (Ivory Coast)and Asokwaa.

Q. Could Nana give all the names of the chiefs who have been installed on his stool and appellations that they have been associated?

A. Nana Ebi
Nana Aso
Nana Kwateng
Nana Kwadwo Anin I
Nana Akaa Twum
Nana Kwaku Mensah
Nana Gyaben Panyin
Nana Kofi Gyaben
Nana Kwasi Amena
Nana Kwabena Esia
Nana Kwaku Mensah
Nana Kwadwo Anini II

Q. Could you give the list of your queens?

A. Nana Aniniwaa
Nana Akosua Nkrumah
Nana Akua Bre
Nana Akua Hanna (the present queen).

Q. What is the present chief's name?

A. Nana Kwadwo Anini II

Q. Which of the chiefs mentioned went to war?

A. Nana Kwadwo Anini I.

Q. What war did he take part?

A. Nzima, Yaa Asantewaa and Kumasi wars.

Q. Why did he go to the wars?

A. Nana Kwadwo Anini I was a subject to Omanhene (paramount chief) of Wiawso, consequently any war in which the latter was engaged the former had to assist.

Q. Has there ever been a war with which Nana was directly concerned?

A. No.

Q. Did any of the chiefs, whose names have been mentioned above, have titles or appellations?

A. Nana Kwadwo Anini I had the title "Patafoo a odi ako".

Q. How did he come to earn "Patafoo a odi ako"?

A. The meaning is that whereever and whenever there was war he would readily partake.

Q. Which of these chiefs did something important of which he is still remembered?

A. Nana Kwadwo Anini I was the one who fought and defeated all our enemies and saved the stool from being taken away. He has "Batakari" a kind of war dress which could resist bullets. In time of severe drought and the Batakari is spread in the open there will be rain immediately. If you doubt let me put it in the yard here to see what will happen.

Q. Does the stool have any oaths whose use is restricted only to this town?

A. Yes. It is called "Nana Kofi Gyaben Sakune" - Nana Kofi Gyaben Sekondi.

Q. What was the origin of this oath?

A. Nana used to head delegations of Sefwis during land disputes. During one such occasion he had terrible experiences at Sekondi. When he returned home he adopted this oath in remembrance of the hardships he experienced.

Q. What emblems adorn the linguist staff and Nana's state umbrella?

A. On the linguist staff is the Aduana emblem - A dog with a fire in its mouth and "bakyia mmiensa" (three hearths)

Q. What message does Nana's state drum (Twinsini) impart when it is played.

A. "Se me too won. Se me too won" - Twi. "Se ntoro be, Se ntoro be - Sefwi - literally. "If I had got them. Meaning - Had I been there earlier before their escape I would have killed them. Virtually it means "It is too late".

Q. Which of the chiefs made that drum?

A. Nana Ebi, the first chief.

Q. How are the state horns blown and what messages do they impart?

A. "Nnipa da gyem a ma no nhye ma no nhye a!" "If someone is found in flames let the one burn - don't rescue the one.

Q. Why are the horns blown to impart such message?

A. Nana Kwadwo Anini with the Sefwi Omanhene went to aid the Asantes in a war in Kumasi. During the war the paramount chief of Sefwi was to be detained in Kumasi by the Asantehene to fight in possible future wars. It was at this juncture that Nana Anini showed bravery by telling Asantehene that he would take his paramount chief to Sefwi. Asantehene ordered for the arrest of Nana Anini and he, Nana Anini was consequently taken a prisoner for being insolent A date was even fixed to sentence Nana

Nana Anini to death.

At the appointed date there was a mysterious and a strong storm in Kumasi. All fetish priests were asked to consult their oracles. The finding was that Nana Anini was, "not an ordinary man", a great one. The result was that Nana was set free and permitted to take Sefwi Omanhene (paramount chief) to his state after forty days' stay in Kumasi. After our chief and paramount chiefs' arrival at the latters palace, the former decided to go to his own village, Nkotroso. When he got to his village, we went for hunting and killed two very fat bush pigs. Nana decided to send them to Omanhene "to purify his soul" He finally sent them to his lord but because of the excessive fat in the meat, Omanhene after enjoying it had a choke.

Nana Anini was summoned before the Sefwi Oman (state) and accused of having poisoned the Omanhene. He was therefore asked to apologise and pacify Omanhene. It was after the pacification that he made his horn to sound thus - "Onipa da ogyem a ma no nhye" that is when someone is in danger don't go to his rescue.

Q. As the chief of the left wing what things do you send to Omanhene at the end of the year, that is during the annual festival?

A. I don't take anything to him but I carry out some activities before the actual ceremony. First, there is a place called Yentreso near Wiawso where I go to pour libation. After that I wear my Batakari, war dress, and march to the palace. Then we start the Odwira festival.

Q. What do your subject chiefs bring to you during the festival?

A. It is not compulsory for them to make any contribution to me but some individuals make free contributions in the

form of cash, meat or plantains.

Q. Which god helps with the administration of the town?

A. Bonsam and Tano. However the former has been stolen. We are very much worried for this.

Q. What are the origins of Bonsam? In other words how did you acquire it?

A. It descended from the sky. It came to associate itself with Nana's stool and we found a priest for it.

Q. Does it still have a priest?

A. Yes.

Q. As it is stolen does someone still consult the oracle?

A. No, neither do we worship it again. As I have told you it originated from the sky and we can not make another one.

Q. Did the ancestors question you when it was stolen?

A. They have rather kept silence over the whole issue.

Q. Nana, the other god, Tano, from where did you get it?

A. It is a river god.

Q. What have been the main achievements of the gods in building the town so as to make you continue worshipping it?

A. It has contributed to the growth of the town by helping to reduce mortality rate and making child birth easy. All these are made possible by making the priest know some curable herbs to be used at such occasions.

Q. Does it kill?

A. It does not.

Q. At the end of the year when you are celebrating your festivals what do you present to the god for worshipping?

A. Fowls, sheep, eggs and money are given to the gods.

Q. Is there any festival which is celebrated only by this town?

A. Yes. Every year after the Omanhene has celebrated his festival, the towns that serve under me and myself do celebrate ours.

Aluolie is the name of the festival.

Q. Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. We do that to remember our ancestors and uphold our tradition.

Q. What will be the result if at the end of the year you are unable to celebrate this Aluolie?

A. We postpone the date, say, for forty days. We can't just refuse to celebrate it. The worse we can do is to postpone.

Q. With what do you celebrate this festival?

A. When it's time Nana and his elders take the stools to the river side. Nana is washed and some of the water from the river is fetched to the house. When Nana is seated this water is sprinkled on to all the people. From there the sheep, drinks and other presents are taken to the stools' room by the linguist. Libation is poured for the prosperity of the whole nation.

Q. Do you have some appellations or special songs (Kwadwom) to sing Nana's praises?

A. Yes, we have some folk songs and other songs, called "Apente" which potrays the Aduana clan alone.

Q. How do you administer a case of a young man when he swears your oath in vain?

A. We collect a fee of forty pesewas (40p) from him. If at the end of arbitration he is found guilty he is fined four cedis eighty pesewas (£2 8/-) which we call "Esua ndoma"

Q. Should this youngman show insolence and refuses to pay the fine, what action does Nana take against him?

A. We leave him alone but if he falls into trouble or if somebody does something wrong against him, he (the disrespectful fellow) can not summon him to any authority.

Q. In the old days how did Nana gather troops when there was a war?

A. The Omanhene would inform Akontombra chief. The latter beats gong-gong to call all his sub-chiefs. They all bring their contigents and we all go together to Omanhene's palace.

Q. What is done if some of your subjects have no guns?

A. They still have to go to the battle field as reserves, in case an armed soldier is killed, they take his gun and go to the front.

Q. Where did you obtain your guns during the old days?

A. I am told by my elders that during that time our people had guns from Kankyeabo.

Q. Before guns were brought to this area, how did men go to war?

A. Before the arrival of guns there were no wars - wars started when guns were introduced into the state.

Q. Where did Nananom obtain cutlasses and other farm implements to cultivate the land?

A. They could melt a kind of ferrous stone which we call "Kyeben" to make those implements.

Q. Which of the Sefwi towns was famous for its blacksmiths for making cutlasses, hoes, etc.

A. Diaso.

Q. Was there a famous blacksmith in this town once?

A. No.

Q. Do you play Asafo in this town?

A. No.

Q. In the old days how did Nana get finance to administer the state affairs?

A. From gold mining.

Q. What fraction of such prospects went to Nana's chest?

A. All gold nuggets found belonged to the Stool. One-third was reserved for Nana. Onethird of the remaining two-thirds was set apart for the stool.

Q. Could the portion set aside for the stool be used to trade in the North or the coast for the stool?

A. Yes. Gyaasehene saw to that - that was the main responsibility of Gyasehene.

Q. What particular towns did you go to trade?

A. Cape Coast (Oguaa) and Tanoso.

Q. Where was the original trade route?

A. We passed through Diaso.

Q. Was one to pay tax when one crossed Sefwi boundary into Denkyira?

A. Nothing was paid.

Q. How did you get a sleeping place when night fell on your way to trade?

A. You were given accommodation wherever you went to ask for one.

Q. How much were you to pay for the house owner for your lodging?

A. We didn't have to pay anything. We gave him anything we liked.

Q. Was the house owner to give you food?

A. If he were generous enough. What actually was the case is that the trader had to find his own food.

Q. Was it obligatory to purchase the food from the house?

A. No.

Q. Suppose a trader died during your travels what was the owner of the house to do?

A. The incident is reported to the chief. The chief will see to it that the deceased's property is safely kept. The property is given to the relatives of the dead person, if they go to claim it. If the property is not claimed it becomes the property of the host (the one whose house the death occurred). The greater part is given to the chief of the town.

Q. Why is the deceased luggage sent to the chief's palace?

A. Because the chief shoulders all expenses connected with the death such as purchasing of coffin.

Q. In the old days during wars what did the chief give to his soldiers to fight?

A. Bullets, gun-powder and if he had guns too he could give them out.

Q. If a man was coward enough to run away from going to war

what was his fate?

A. There was no punishment imposed on him. But after the war and someone had an affair with the wife, he could not claim any adlutery fee as he has proved himself womanish.

Q. Who were the guards when the men went to the battle field?

A. The women were left behind to perform the "Momome" ceremony (singing mournful songs and exhorting the gods to protect their relatives and loved ones).

Q. Why was it that only women were left behind?

A. Some men too stayed back as vanguards in case the enemies came behind to attack us.

Q. Which were the main trading items in the old days?

A. Pomade, cutlasses, cloth, calico and tobacco.

Q. How was trade transacted?

A. We went to the coast to purchase the goods. After purchasing the goods from the coast we went round the towns and villages to resell them.

Q. In the Sefwi-Wiawso state what were the main towns noted for trading?

A. Tanoso.

Q. What goods could you buy from the North?

A. Cloth called "kyekye" and slaves.

Q. Where were the slaves got from?

A. There were slave masters who brought them to the market for sale. We only went to the market to make choices.

Q. Who was mostly noted for selling slaves?

A. Saamono (Samori)

Q. What did you do with the slaves you had bought?

A. If she was a female and we found her attractive we could marry her. If he was a male we made him do manual work for us.

Q. To whom did you have to perform the marriage rites if you wanted to marry your own slave?

A. We did not perform any rite if we married a slave we had

bought ourselves. On the other hand if another man came to ask her for marriage then the one had to perform the marriage rites to the owner.
The owner on marrying his own slave paid nothing because he bought the slave with his own money.

Q. Did you regard the issues you had with her as your own children?

A. Yes, but he cannot inherit the father. However, such issues may act as regents when it is necessary. After the regent's death his stool is not blackened.

Q. Did any man become so popular because of an acquired wealth?

A. No.

o PANEL

Nana Kwadwo Anini
Okyeame Asubonteng
Okyeame Yaw Tawia.

AKAFIE

Libation

Mother Earth (Asase yaa) drinks o!!
Almighty God drinks o!!
You brought us to the world
Whatever the Government has asked us to do we shall do.
And today we have in our midst scholars
who have come from Accra to listen to our history
Today is Saturday
If we don't give you drinks
To open the way for us
We can't do anything
This is why we are offering you drinks
Nana Arma, you came from Wiawso to grow groundnuts here,
Hence this place was called Nkateeso
The groundnuts yielded abundantly.
So people said that they were going with you Nana Arma
Twafohene Dawuah, I am speaking to you
When he came, this place was a village
But more people came to stay with him and the town started to grow
Nana Arma drinks
Nana Ekyea drinks
Nana Kwaku Sebo drinks
Nana Kojo Owusu drinks
Nana Kwasi Afful drinks
Nana Sobre drinks
Nana Badu drinks
Nana Amekye drinks
Nana Fuachie drinks
What I am saying is that
When people came, they chose to stay with Nana Arma
In the olden days food was scarce

Because you had food you got many people
And today they have come to listen to our history
Here is drink
Help us to narrate exactly the history of this town
All members of the gathering here should have long lives.
Bless the scholars who have come
Drinks for all our ancestors.

Q. Nana to which clan do you belong?

A. Asona.

Q. What is a taboo to your clan?

A. A snake called Asonawoo.

Q. How do you respond to greetings?

A. Yaa Asonana.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. Sefwi Wiawso. But I can't tell where my people lived before they moved to Wiawso.

Q. Why did you leave Sefwi Wiawso?

A. It was Nana Arma who came here to grow groundnuts. Later as food became abundant here many people came to settle with him. But the most important reason why this place grew large was the threat posed by the Wassaws who tried to take our land. We moved here to curb the threat of the Wassaw.

Q. Who led you to this place?

A. Nana Arma.

Q. How did you come here?

A. We walked through the forest.

Q. Did you come to meet some people here?

A. No.

Q. How did this town get its name?

A. As Nana Arma was farming here anybody who was coming here said that he was going to Arma Fie (that is Arma farm) This has been corrupted to Amafie.

Q. Who was the first chief of this town?

A. Nana Arma.

Q. Which states or towns have been your neighbours?

A. Wassaw.

Q. What has been the relationship between you and the Wassaw state?

A. In the olden days the Wassaw posed threats but we proved more powerful than they, and pushed them back. There have been no troubles in recent years.

Q. Could you give me the list of your past chiefs?

A. Nana Arma
Nana Ekyee Kwame
Nana Kwaku Sebo
Nana Kwadwo Fosu
Nana Kofi Ahoi
Nana Kwasi Afful
Nana Kwadwo Bosompim I
Nana Yaw Badu
Nana Kofi Anekye
} They all died on the stool

Nana Kwadwo Bosompim II - (abdicated)
Nana Kwasi Mensah (abdicated)
Nana Kwame Bosompim - died on the stool
Nana Kofi Dewua Twafohene, the reigning chief.

Q. What are the queenmothers?

A. Nana Ekyere Amma
Nana Akosua Bosompimaa
Nana Akua Minae - reigning queenmother.

Q. Why do the chiefs abdicate in recent years?

A. I cannot personally know. The reasons may be personal to the ex-chiefs concerned.

Q. Why are there fewer queenmothers as compared to the chiefs?

A. The institution of queenmother had recently been adopted.

Q. What are the contemporaries of some of the chiefs in this town?

A. Kwadwo Bosompim I reigned during the time of Nana Kwame Tano, Omanhene of Sefwi. I cannot know the contemporaries of the ancient chiefs because I am not educated.

Q. Which of the chiefs went to war?

A. Kwadwo Fosu fought the Wassaw people.

Q. Why did he fight the Wassaw?

A. It was due to land dispute. We were able to push them back as we became victorious in the wars. We drew a new boundary for any new land we acquired from them.

Q. Which of the chiefs did something for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Kwadwo Fosu lost his life in a war called Bonsaso against the Wassaw. It was during the reign of Nana Amekye that school was established here.

Q. Do you have any appellations for some of the chiefs in this town?

A. I cannot remember any.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. Nananom Bonsaso. It was here that Nana Kwadwo Fosu lost his life in a war with the Wassaw.

Q. What is your role in the Sefwi state?

A. Twafohene.

Q. Do you have some villages under your administration?

A. Yes. Aboboyaa and Nyamediso and Ntonu.

Q. What kinds of allegiance do they owe to you?

A. During wars they come to tell me of whatever was happening.

Q. Have the villages under your administration any indepedent role in the constitutional affairs of Sefwi?

A. No. They always took order from me.

Q. What is the system of inheritance in your town?

A. Matrilineal inheritance, but there is special consideration for a brother or nephew of the former chief. Qualities such as industriousness, humility and others are prerequisites for the choice of a new chief. The Hwerepinhene and the queenmother select the fitting candidate from the royal family before the public is informed. The public could disagree with the choice made. An unanimous decision is always taken on the choice of the chief.

Q. What god do you consult in the administration of this town?

A. Boson Bediako.

Q. Why do you seek the protection of Bosom Bediako?

A. It is necessary for every stool to have a tutelar god so that the occupant of the stool could feel save.

Q. What have been the achievements of Bediako?

A. Bediako helped us to win the wars we fought.

Q. How is Bediako worshipped?

A. With sacrifices of eggs, fowls and sheep.

Q. What is the symbol on your royal staff?

A. A human being. This depicts our role in the Sefwi state. The human being holding a lamp means we are the torch bearers of Sefwi on every occasion, since we show the way.

Q. During whose reign was this staff made?

A. Nana Badu.

Q. What is the penalty associated with the violation of your oath?

A. Any one who violates the oath is fined according to the gravity of the case.

Q. What is the name of the festival you celebrate here?

A. Kluo.

Q. Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. It is an occasion to offer sacrifices to the ancestors and to ask for their continual guidance.

Q. What would happen if something happens to make it impossible to celebrate the festival?

A. A great calamity would befall us and as such we pour libation to our ancestors to pacify and inform them of what had happened.

Q. What are your funeral rites?

A. When any chief died we send emissaries to inform the neighbouring towns of the death. A day is fixed for the funeral obsequices when sympathisers offer donations. If any debt acrued from the funeral celebration the family of the deceased had to pay it.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. In the past we married for our sons. This was done to prevent the young man from flirting. This also made the young man feel secured and made them respect their parents.

Q. Could you tell me anything about services rendered by youngmen to their in-laws?

A. In the past this was common. The young man often invited friends to accompany him to work on his in-laws farm.

Q. What is the significane of the feast of fufu prepared during the marriage?

A. This is the "Atonfole". It is a ceremony which shows the appreciation of the man for the girl given to him to marry. The food is prepared and distributed among the neighbours.

Q. How is justice administered in this town?

A. When any case is brought to me, I summon all my elders to my palace to judge the case. We give judgment after investigating both sides thoroughly.

Q. Did you have any standing army?

A. The population was not so large in the past, so when there was any war we called all the people to the palace and informed them to prepare for the war.

Q. What was the fate of anybody who refused to go to war?

A. Such a person was no longer regarded as a member of the society. Even if someone had an affair with his wife he could not claim damage fees.

Q. What weapons did you use in your wars?

A. We used guns.

Q. How did you get the guns?

A. We bought them from Cape Coast. We had blacksmiths here and when we had the metals from the Europeans they (our blacksmiths) made them into guns.

Q. What are the taboos of your Asafo company?

A. A menstrual woman should not touch the drums.

Q. What is the name of the Asafo company?

A. Ankobea.

Q. How did you get the Asafo company?

A. We copied it from the Fante.

Q. Who brought the Asafo company to this town?

A. Kwasi Damptey.

Q. What would happen if anybody came to steal your asafo drums?

A. This was regarded as a casus belli.

Q. What is the role of the Asafo company in this town and among the Sefwi in general?

A. During periods of emergency such as a person getting lost in the forest or on accasions when someone died, the Asafo drums are beaten and everybody got ready to offer his help. During wars the sound of the drums stimulated everybody into action and we fought like lions.

Q. What was the source of revenue for the people in this town?

A. Cowries. This was the medium of exchange in trade with the north. Apart from cowries, we dug for gold.

Q. Did Nana participate in prospecting for gold?

A. The chief had his wives, children and Gyase who prospected gold for him. When anybody found a gold nugget he sent it to the chief who later sent it to the Omanhene, who took his share. The divisional chief also took his share and gave some portion also to the person who found the nugget.

Q. How did you know that gold could be obtained at a particular area?

A. The gold was dug mainly along the banks of rivers. In fact the presence of small nuggets of gold along the river banks after heavy downpour of rain was an indication of abundant gold in that place.

Q. What goods did you take to the coast?

A. Originally we went with gold dust but later on we also sent rubber to Cape Coast. It took us about one month to reach the coast.

Q. What was the route to the coast?

A. We passed through the Denkyira and Adanse states.

Q. How were the traders organised?

A. There was a "Batahene" chosen among the traders who took care of the traders. He made sure that everybody in the group made all his purchases. He found places for them to sleep when they reached any town in the night.

Q. How did you cross rivers when you come to them?

A. About three long tree trunks touching each banks of the river were tied together. We walked on these trunks while holding a walking stick. If the river was not very big we put our loads on the trunks and with a walking stick walked through the river while at the same time pushing the load along.

Q. Did you fear any highwaymen on your way to trade?

A. We walked in large numbers, so did not fear any highwayman.

Q. Do you know any highwayman who became notorious for his activities?

A. No.

Q. What did the Denkyera do to make people regard them as wicked people?

A. Whenever a stranger reached their towns and he wanted to roast a plantain they would turn him out. Even if you asked for water they would ask you to go to the stream to fetch water.

Q. How did you get sleeping places on the way?

A. We were often given "pato" (open rooms) in which to sleep.

Q. Did you pay anything to the houseowner?

A. We didn't pay any money but we bought food from the houseowner.

Q. What goods did you buy from the north?

A. Cloths like kyekye which cost about 1s. 6d. (one shilling and six pence) Another type of the cloth was called fusa.

Q. What cloth did you use prior to your trade with the people of the north?

A. We used "kyenkyen" made from the bark of a tree.

Q. Did you trade in "kyenkyen" cloth?

A. No.

Q. What other goods did you buy from the north?

A. Sheabutter and slaves.

Q. What did you use as pomade prior to your trade with the people of the north?

A. We used palm kernel oil but we found the sheabutter to be of better quality.

Q. What did you buy the slaves with?

A. We usually never paid for the slaves with actual money. We exchanged them with calico and other goods we had bought from the coast.

Q. Why did you get many slaves to buy?

A. There was continous war in the north organised by Samori. He made a large cage in which he kept all the slaves. Any customer went to the cage to make his choice.

Q. What did you do with the slaves you had bought?

A. They incorporated them in our families, and sometimes married the women.

Q. To whom did you perform the marriage rites?

A. You performed the rites to your senior brother.

Q. Could you name some of the trading centres?

A. We generally referred to places where we bought the slaves as Sereso (the north). I cannot remember any town where we actually traded.

Q. Could you give me the name of some of the beads you bought?

A. Tetcaso, Ahwerepanin and Owomma. This was mainly kept with the stools. It is also used as medicine to cure sick children. It is ground and smeared over the sick child and it is said to bring recovery.

Q. What was the route to the north?

A. We passed through Kumasi.

Q. Who was Ebiri Moro?

A. He was a citizen of Kumasi.

Q. Do you know of anybody who grew very rich in Sefwi?

A. Kwaw Ntori of Ahwia. He became rich through trade.

Q. Are there any ancient sites in this area?

A. Ebanboeso near Wiawso.

Q. Have there been any land disputes here?

A. We had a land dispute with Alomunu during the reign of Nana Kwame Tano, Omanhene of Sefwi. The case was peacefully settled.

Q. Have there been any written records of your traditional history?

A. No.

Panel:

Kojo Akroko - Dabehene. I deputise for the Omanhene when he travels. Age - 90.

Nana Dewuah - Twafohene - age - 60

Kwasi Addie - age - 90

Kwaku Sobre - age - 64

Kwaku Duku Apamhene of Wiawso - age - 82

Kwabena Nkrumah - age - 70

ASAFO

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. Bretuo.

Q. What are the taboos of your clan.

A. The animal "ewanzane" (zebra).

Q. What are the greetings associated with your ntoro?

A. Ya Bretuo.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. Juaben.

Q. Why did you leave from Juaben for this place?

A. We left Juaben because of population pressure. We settled first at Wassaw before we moved to Wiawso.

Q. Whom did you meet when you arrived here?

A. We did not meet anybody but we later saw the Aowins with whom we fought. Nana Nkua beat them that they could not carry away their properties.

Q. Did the Aowins leave anything symbolic of their existence?

A. They have got ancient sites.

Q. How did your town get its name?

A. When Nana Kyirika founded this town his other brothers also founded certain towns. One named his village "Agyeman foo die mu". Nana Kyirika therefore named his after Asafo, a suburb of Kumasi.

Q. Ha ve you moved to a different site since the founding of Asafo?

A. The town was formally on the banks of the river Akuasa which often over-flooded its banks. Nana therefore decided to move further away to avoid the flood. The river Akuasa is still used as the drinking stream.

Q. What other clans do you know in this town?

A. Asankra, Aduana

Q. Which states have been your neighbours?

A. Datano and Agyemadien. In fact the chiefs of these two towns are brothers of Nana Kyirika. There is therefore

cordial relationship between us.

Q. Could you give me the list of your past chiefs?

A. Nana Kyirika
Nana Kwaku Nkua
Nana Yaw Anto
Nana Kwame Tando
Nana Minta Dehyee
Nana Yaw Danso
Nana Kofi Ahenkora
Nana Yaw Danso II
Nana Kojo Fuachie
Nana Kofi Ntaadu
Nana Kojo Kwateng - destooled
Nana Kwame Adu - destooled.

Q. Why were the chiefs not destooled in the olden days?

A. In the olden days the chiefs were very deligent and helpful to the people. Nowadays the chiefs do not take good care of the royal property and the citizens of the town.

Q. Which of the chiefs had gone to war before?

A. Nana Kyirika went to the Nzima war. Nana Minta also went to war. In the olden days when the Asantehene had any war, he could ask the Wiawsohene to assist him. This led to the engagement of Sefwis in many wars.

Q. Did any of the chiefs earn any appellations through the war?

A. In the olden days the "dawuro" could not be sounded in any town in Sefwi except Asafo. This exemption was acquired through our feat in the wars. Nana Kyirika and his subjects fought bravely in the wars.

Q. What are the oaths of your town?

A. Nana "Ekuada ne nsaram".

Q How did this oath come to be adopted?

A. As we were going to a war popularlyknown as Adu Kofi war a gainst the Aowins a tree nearby fell on Opayin Koa one of our elders As Opayin Tano Kwabena went to find

out what had happened, a branch of the tree fell on him and he died. This is why we adopted this oath.

Q. What is the symbol on Nana's leading umbrella?

A. Babadua.

Q. Why did you put Babadua on the umbrella?

A. It is a sign of greatness.

Q. What is the symbol on Nana's leading state sword?

A. A cat and a mouse. If the mouse attempts to hide in the bag it fears to be devoured by the cat.

Q. What does this mean?

A. The chief of Asafo sits on Abakoma stool. No person tempts with the chief else the result will be disatrous.

Q. What is the role of your king in the government of Sefwi?

A. The Asafohene is Ankobeahene.

Q. Which villages and divisions come under Asafo?

A. Dätano, Korniago, Puikrom.

Q. What is the main god of your state?

A. Kobiri.

Q. Why did you choose Kobiri as the main god of your town?

A. Nana Yaw Danso found that the royalists were dying too much so he went for this god to protect the town especially the royalists.

Q. What has been the main achievement of Kobiri?

A. The high death rate of the royalists had stopped.

Q. What are the taboos of Kobiri?

A. Any witch is killed by Kobiri. Anybody who brings any medicine or juju to this town with the intention to kill would be killed by Kobiri.

Q. How is Kobiri worshipped?

A. In the olden days drums were beaten and the priest became possessed. He professed when he was in this mood.

Q. What are the main festivals of your town?

A. Aluolue.

Q. How is the Aluolue celebrated?

A. The celebration starts on Thursday. This Thursday is an occasion of mourning. Drums were beaten and people sang dirges. On Friday the chief presents gifts to the visitors who have come to witness the festival. At about 12 p.m. the chief sits in his palaquin and amid songs and drums he is taken to the riverside to be washed. After this occasion the chief and the people take procession through the principal streets of Asafo After the procession we all gather at the palace to offer sheep, drinks and ~~parshed~~ yam to the black stools. From the palace we go to the queenmother's house to give similar food to the black stools of the deceased queenmothers. Finally the people go to the main street to beat drums and make merry.

Q. Why is this festival celebrated?

A. It is celebrated to give food to the ancestors.

Q. What is the type of libation poured during festivals?

A. The ancestors are asked to see to it that the town grows, people prosper, peace reigns over the town and so on.

Q. Where do people go when they die?

A. They go to "Nsamabomu".

Q. How is nsamabomu look like?

A. It is just like the dwellings of this world.

Q. Do we Akans believe that when a person dies he has not died?

A. Yes.

Q. Do we worship the ancestors?

A. Yes. We worship them because they have given us the land. The land belongs to them.

Q. What message does it impart when people beat the "Twinisini" drum?

A. They mean "Ka be se yeko"

Q. Why does it impart this message?

A. Nana was bellicose and ever ready to fight. The Twinisini depicts his bravery.

Q. What other drums do you beat?

A. The "Atumpina" drum.

Q. Which messages do you beat the drums to impart?

A. "Aboa kye aboa, odekye a okye odekye". This is the appellation of Nana Kyirika.

Q. How did Nana get people to go to war?

A. Gong-gong or the "Dawuro" is beaten to summon the people to the palace. The drum sound "Kodua bosofoo, momo doa ma yenko, momo doa ma yenko".

Q. If this gong-gong is beaten and I do not have gun, how can I go to the war?

A. Anybody without gun is to go to war. When someone dies he takes his gun. He also keeps the powder and food of those with guns.

Q. How could one get powder and bullet if he has none to go to war?

A. The chief provides everybody with powder and bullet.

Q. How did Nana get money enough to buy guns and powder for the wars?

A. The Wiawsohene did not provide the guns and powder, so it was the Kumasihene who provided them.

Q. Have you heard of a town called Nkasa or Nkakeni?

A. No.

Q. How did Nana get money?

A. Gold was dug.

Q. Could any youngman go to dig for gold or except that permission had to be sought from the chief?

A. Anybody could go to dig for gold.

Q. Did the chief have a share of the gold or not?

A. The chief had two-thirds of all gold obtained by any gold-digger on this land. If anybody found a nugget of gold he was to send it to the chief.

Q. Did Nana have special people who dug gold for him?

A. The Gyaasefoo dug gold for Nana.

Q. If Nana were to send some people to the coast to trade which people did he send?

A. The Gyaasefoo were mainly sent to do such things.

Q. Was there any Batahene?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the function of the Batahene?

A. He was the leader of all the traders. He sought for their goodwill. He sold goods carried by the traders and bought goods for them on their return journey.

Q. Was the Batahene a chief who sits on a black stool?

A. No. He was a common man who had been elected by the traders to head their journey.

Q. Which was the route to the coast?

A. The route was through Sefwi Bekwai, Denkyira.

Q. How did you get a place to sleep?

A. The leader went from house to house to find a room. We were usually given an open room (pato).

Q. On the next day, when you were leaving, what did you do to the house owner?

A. We rewarded the house owners with salts and tobacco.

Q. Did the house owner provide you with food?

A. No. We had to buy our own food.

Q. What goods did you buy from the coast?

A. Tobacco, salt, clothes, etc.

Q. Where did you resell the goods you had bought from the coast?

A. We carried them through the streets and went from house to house. We often carried to distant towns to resell the goods.

Q. Has there been any town in Sefwi which became an important trading centre?

A. No.

Q. Did you have to pay anything to the chief of any area when you reached his state as you went to trade?

A. We did not need to pay anything.

Q. How did you cross the rivers?

A. There were canoes on the rivers. People who were ferried across the rivers had to pay a fare of say 6d.

Q. Who was given the money which had been collected from the crossing of the river?

A. The owner of the river was given the money.

Q. Does this mean that the chief chose some people to collect such fares?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you buy from the north?

A. Shea butter, cloths called "kyekye", slaves and beads. At times we went to the north to get juju and to buy sheep.

Q. Could we not make cloths ourselves prior to the trade with the north and the coast?

A. We could make our own cloths called Bofunu.

Q. Could the Bofunu be dyed?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you any Asafo companies?

A. In the olden days Asafo was played in this town.

Q. Could you tell me how marriage rites were performed?

A. In the olden days when you saw any girl whom you wished to marry you went to the parents to pay the "tiri nsa". You then found clothes, pomades, powder and others. You found meat to prepare a big fufu ceremony called "Atonfole". During the Big Fufu ceremony, young girls and elderly women bring the bride to the groom's house. Long chewing sticks were given to the people who follow the bride to the groom's house. This ceremony lasts for about a week. After that the bride and her entourage leave for their houses, or towns The bride also prepares to cook a similar big fufu for the groom. After this, then the bride goes to stay in her husband's house.

Were the fufu given to the town's people?

Yes.

Q. Why was the fufu shared among the town's people?

A. To announce that the girl is married.

Q. Could you marry a slave whom you had bought?

A. Yes.

Q. If you married such a slave and produced children, what family or clan do these children belong to?

A. They belong to the owners family or clan.

Q. Did you perform any customary rites?

A. Not very often. However, such rites were performed before the relatives of the owner.

Q. Do you know of any rich man in Sefwi who became famous?

A. Asemnyinaa. He was a slave who lived in Aborokofo.

Q. What did Asemnyinaa do that proved him wealthy?

A. He could carry money to the Omanhene. When any relative of the Omanhene died Asemnyinaa could donate as much as £6, whereas chiefs and other royalists donated £1 during funeral celebrations. Asemnyinaa could stand in the street of Wiawso and swore by the black stool of Boizan that he should be allowed to fill the Bomaa with money.

Q. Has there been any trade in kola nut?

A. No.

Q. Have there been any land disputes?

A. There was a dispute with Boakohene.

Q. Where did you settle the case?

A. The case was settled at Nana Kofi Ahenkora's palace at Wiawso.

Q. Have there been any written records?

A. No.

Q. Which were the important beads?

A. Anegyenema, Kholie, Amankwaatia, foromúnaa.

Q. What was the use of these beads?

A. Some were used to mix with herbs in preparing juju.

PANEL

Akosua Kosi - queenmother
Yaw Kyerematcng - okyeame
Kwabena Manu
Kwame Sor - stool carrier
Kofi Binpong - husband of queenmother
Kwame Minta - elder
Yaw Danso - elder.

ASAMPANEYE

Q. What clan do you belong to?
A. Agona.
Q. What other clans do you know in this town?
A. Aduana, Asona.
Q. What are the taboos?
A. Cow.
Q. What are the greetings associated with your ntoro?
A. Ya agonana.
Q. From where did you come to this town?
A. Anantia in Sefwi. We came from a river and all Sefwis came to meet us.
Q. From where did you come to settle here?
A. From old Bechema which was near the river Anantia
Q. Why did you leave from old Bechema?
A. This is because our elders came here to find land to farm This farmstead later grew up to be a town.
Q Did you meet any group of people here?
A. No.
Q. Who was the first chief of Anantia?
A. Nana Yaw Amoah.
Q. Did you see any symbol to indicate that people had once settled here?
A. No.
Q. How did your town get its name?
A. The name of the town means that virtue surpasses all things.
Q. Who was your leader?
A. Nana Kwaw Asante.
Q. How and why did your town become the royal family?
A. We were royalists at Anantia and therefore if we had come to settle here the same status follows us.
Q. Which towns or states have been your neighbours?

A. Mafia, Akyiase, Dominebo. Nkraa and Tneadwene.

Q. What has been the relationship between your town and the neighbouring ones?

A. Peaceful relationship.

Q. Could you give me the list of chiefs?

A. Nana Kwaw Asante
Nana Kojo Awua
Nana Koa - destooled
Nana Kwasi Armah
Nana Ewuabo - destooled
Nana Yaw Opong - destooled
Nana Ntori - destooled
Nana Aduhene - destooled
Nana Yaw Asare - reigning.

Q. Which of the chiefs went to war, why did he go to war?

A. Nana Kwaw Asante went to the Nzima war. He became victorious.

Q. What other achievements did he acquire?

A. He had many cocoa farms which made the stool rich.

Q. Any appellations of the chiefs of which they are best remembered?

A. Nana Kwaw Asante "a obedi atuo" This is because of the wars he fought.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. Nana Kwasi Ankama Nzima.

Q. How did you adopt this oath?

A. Nana Kwasi Ankama suffered greatly during the Nzima war. Hence the oath.

Q. What is the penalty associated with this oath?

A. Any culprit is fined 4s. by the gyaaseni who arrests him. He is later brought to the palace to be punished. If two people swear by it their cases are looked into by the elders who form the council. Pronouncement is given and the guilt is fined.

Q. Which villages and divisions come under you?

A. Eteeso, Breman, Nkraa, Dominebo.

Q. What function do they perform?

A. During the festivals some provide meat while others make donations as much as ten shillings. They all participate in the celebration of the festival.

Q. What is the rule of succession?

A. Succession is matrilineal During succession, a bearer is sent to Nana Bechemanhene who sends another bearer to Wiawsohene. Wiawsohene send one of his linguists to accompany the elders of Bechema to come to enstool the candidate.

Q. What is the main god of your town?

A. Bedi atuo.

Q. How did you get this god?

A. Nana Kwaw Asante came with this god while coming to settle here.

Q. How is it worshipped?

A. Is worshipped with hen, eggs and sheep.

Q. What has been the achievement of Bedi atuo?

A. It has helped in bringing prosperity to our town.

Q. What is the symbol on your statesword?

A. A snake.

Q. Why did you choose this?

A. This means that if you are catching a snake with, other people, you must all hold its heel else they leave it to bite you.

Q. During whose reign was this made?

A. Nana Kwaw Asante.

Q. How did this proverb come to be adopted?

A. Nana Kwaw Asante realised that if he had not tried well himself during the wars but had depended on people he might have been killed

Q. What do they mean when the drum Twinisini is beaten?

A. They mean "Se nderoben" that is "se metoo won". (Literally. If I got them.

Q. What does this mean?

A. When Nana Kwasi Ankama went to the war, he could not get the enemies. They had all ran away. Hence he was saying "If I got them I would have massacred them all.

Q. What do you mean when the horn is blown?

A. "Emere dane" Emere dane". Literally - Time changes.

Q. What type of festival do you celebrate in this town?

A. Aluoluo.

Q. Why is this celebrated?

A. To give food to the ancestors

Q. How is the festival celebrated?

A. Food and drinks are given to the black stools.

Q. What are your funeral rites?

A. When anybody dies he is buried People are sent to various towns to inform relatives and well wishers of the death. A day is fixed for donations. When any debt comes out of this funeral celebration the inheritor pays it.

Q. How do you know the history of your town?

A. Our elders tell us the story and we also transfer them to our generations.

Q. Did Nana have any standing army?

A. No. But gong-gong is beaten and every male adult is to go to the war.

Q. What weapon did you use in the wars?

A. Gun and powder.

Q. Where did you get the steel for making the gun prior to European arrival?

A. I do not know but myself are told that there were blacksmiths who could make guns.

Q. Could any gun maker be killed?

A. Yes. But whatever each person gets is sent to the chief to be shared. There is a certain law by which everybody also has to go to die for all Fantis.

Q. Which was the medium of exchange?
A. We weighed all gold on scales.
Q. What did you buy from the coast?
A. Cloth, salt and tobacco.
Q. How did you get a place to sleep?
A. We went from house to house in quest for rooms. We were often given an open room.
Q. Did you pay anything to the house owner and how did you get food to eat?
A. We did not pay anything. We only rewarded the house owner in our return journey. We bought plantain also from the house owner.
Q. If one of the traders dies on the way, what did you do?
A. We always had a leader and he took care of the traders When any member dies, we bury him and take his load along with us
Q. How did you cross any river when you come to it.
A. We used canoes to cross the rivers.
Q. Did you have to pay anything. If so, how much?
A. Yes, we were often charged 1s. each.
Q. Do you know of any highway-man who once lived in Sefwi?
A. I have heard of such a person but I did not see him. He was called Kwame Abe.
Q. From where did Kwame Abe come to perpetuate such deeds?
A. He was from the Wassa area.
Q. Did you trade with the people from the north?
A. Yes.
Q. What did you send to the north?
A. Cloth which we had bought from the coast
Q What did you buy from the north?
A Slaves shea butter calico etc
Q If you bought women could you marry them?
A Yes.

Q. To whom did you perform the marriage rites?

A. The rites were performed to their brothers.

Q. To which clan do the issues from such marriage belong?

A. They belong to their father's clan.

Q. Could they inherit the father?

A. No. But they could be appointed regents. However, if they died on the stool no black stool is made for them.

Q. Could you give me the names of beads?

A. Owomma, eholie, etc.

Q. Could you make your own cloth before the arrival of the Europeans?

A. Yes. There was a type of /cloth called Bofunu made from the bark of a tree.

Q. Have there been any written records?

A. No.

Q. Have there been any internal constitutional disputes?

A. No.

Q. Any land disputes?

A. No.

PANEL

Nana Kwaw Asante II chief of Asampaneye

Kwasi Asante - okyeame - 60 years

Kwabena Arunah - elder - 70 years

Yaa Agyewa - queenmother

Yaw Mensah - okyeame - 45 years

Yaw Amoah - elder, chief's brother - 60 years

Kwame Mrakwa - 72 years.

Yaw Oferi - 57 years

Kwabena Kye - 60 years.

BENCHEMA

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. We do not have any clan. We are the original settlers of Sefwi. We came from nowhere.

Q. What are your taboos?

A. The taboos differ among the royalilists since we have different parents. We accept the taboos of our fathers.

Q. What are the greetings associated with your ntoro?

A. Abraw.

Q. Where did you come from to stay here?

A. We descended from the sky.

Q. How did your town expand?

A. After we had descended from the sky, we married from different places. People from other areas also married some of our women. Hence the expansion of our town.

Q. Why did you leave from your original site?

A. The land was not good for farming and so there was intermittent famine.

Q. Who was your leader?

A. Opayin Keabena Eba

Q Did you meet anybody here?

A. Nobody

Q What language did you speak?

A. Sefwi.

Q. How did your town get its name?

A. Since there was nobody on the land when we came it meant that we owned the "Oman", that is the state. Benchema really means "Begye oman", that is He who came to own the state.

Q. Could you give the list of your chiefs?

A. Nana Kwabena Eba.
Nana Kwaku
Nana Kwasi Ankama
Nana Yaw Amoah

Nana Kwaku Ampaw
Nana Attah
Nana Aduhene - abdicated
Nana Kwasi Esa, Abusua payin.

Q. Nana, are you the reigning chief?

A. No. We have not enstooled anybody.

Q. Could you give me the list of queens?

A. Nana Yaa Bennie
Nana Yaa Sobre
Nana Ago
Nana Akua Anto - reigning queenmother

Q. Which of the chiefs did something for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Eba was the founder of our town. He instituted the making of the kingly regalia and drums.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. When our elders went to the Nzima wars, one of the elders called Adu Kwabena, was killed by the Nzimas. Nana Kwasi Ankama retaliated by bringing the head of a chief from Nzima. When he returned from the war he adopted "Nana Kwasi Ankama Nzima" as his oath.

Q. What is the penalty associated with violating this oath.

A. Any defaulter is fined 1s. by the "Gyaase" who arrests him. His case is later looked into and if he is found guilty, a charge is imposed on him. In the olden days such a person could be whipped or even killed.

Q. How did you become subject to the Wiawso stool?

A. The Wiawsohene married one of our elderly women. This stool is therefore a sor to the Wiawsohene. Thus our stool is called Chenoba stool.

Q. What is your role in the Wiawso state?

A. Nifahene.

Q. What function do you play in Wiawso state?

A. Before the celebration of the Kuolue festival we have t

cut the omanhene's hair neatly. We get an amount of £2 8s. after the completion of this task. We get some drinks to pour libation to the ancestors.

Q. What are the divisional chiefs under you?

A. Nkatieso, Sanyerano, Kantakrubo, Nyinzin, Dominebo, Asampaneye, Breman, Nteeso and Nkra. Even Asawinso and Kojina are staying on my land.

Q. What function do they perform for you?

A. When /any nails come from the land I send people to any of these villages to demand my share When there is any festival I invite them to come to join in the celebration.

Q What part do you play in either enstoolment or destoolment of Niawsohene?

A. When a new king is to be enstooled I go to Niawso with my subjects and help other chiefs in the enstoolment. I do not specifically have any part to play during destoolment because I am the son of the Omanhene, I accept whosoever is the king as my father.

Q. What is the order of succession in your town?

A. Succession is matrilineal. When a chief dies, you consult the Omanhene who elects some of his linguists to accompany the elders of this town to elect a chief.

Q. Which of the royalists is first considered as being fit for the chiefship?

A. We do not consider any specific person. We only look through the royalists to find anyone with good character and enstool him as the chief.

Q. What is the main god of your town?

A. Sobre.

Q. How is Sobre worshipped?

A. It is worshipped with a dog and "doka" that is (wine from the raffia palm)

Q. Who was the first priest of Sobre?

A. Nana Koa.

Q. What are the prohibitions of Sobre?

A. On Saturdays, it is prohibited for people to pound palm nuts; people should not go to farm, people should not scrub the floor with red clay, and people should not fetch palm nuts.

Q. What should be done to appease sobre if any of these prohibitions is violated?

A. The person who violates any of these prohibitions is fined a dog, a pot of "doka". These are given to the god.

Q. What festival do you have here?

A. We celebrate the Aluolue festival.

Q Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. It is celebrated to thank the ancestors for making it possible for us to live through the year.

Q. What are your funeral rites?

A. Before the deceased is put into the coffin, a linguist is chosen to pour libation, some pieces of clothes are given. Some amount of money is given to the deceased to help him make any necessary expenses on his way to the next world.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. When my son is grown it is my duty to marry for him. While young, the son brings to me any money he gets to be kept for him. In this way, when I am to marry for him, I take this money to perform the rites. If the money is inadequate I subsidize it.

Q. What are the rites?

A. We pay the "tiri nsa". Here three holes are dug and we put some salt into them. Libation is poured. People around drink the wine which has been brought.

Q. Did you have a standing army?

A. We beat gong-gong for all male adults to go to war. If anybody fails to go to war it means that the person is

you such a slave-born could inherit you.

Q. What kinds of blankets did you buy from the north?

A. Kasa, Bomo, Kyekye (camel blankets).

Q. Could you give me the names of some beads?

A. Patadua, Abea, Owoomma, Nkwantabisa.

Q. Have there been any written records?

A. No.

Q. Have there been any land disputes?

A. Yes. We had a land dispute with Boako.

Q. What was the judgment?

A. There was no judgment against any faction. It was settled peacefully between us in the Omanhene's palace at Wiawso.

Q. Have there been any internal constitutional disputes?

A. No. However, different candidates contest for the stool during enstoolment But we always look out for the person with a good character.

PANEL

Opayin Kwasi Esa, Abusua Payin
Opayin Yaw Ankama, ex-okyeame
Opayin Kwame Opon, okyeame
Akua Anto, queenmother
Kwaku Fofie, elder.

BOAKO

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. Asakyiri.

Q. What is the taboo associated with your clan?

A. "Kokote".

Q. Why do you have "Kokote" as your taboo?

A. It was a long time ago when an elder of our clan died after he had eaten the flesh of this animal. A fetish priest thereupon said that this animal was sacred to our clan.

Q. What other clans do you know?

A. Aduana.

Q. What are the greetings associated with your ntoro?

A. Obre.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. After creation all tribes were gathered at a place called Toyotobea in the Adansi area near Akrokeri. Later on due to either population pressure or internal dispute. the tribes dispersed. The Sefwis migrated firstly to Wassa Afiena and from there to Sefwi.

Q. Who was your leader?

A. Kwasi Anfo.

Q. Who did you meet on your arrival here?

A. We met nobody but later we found the Aowin whom we defeated.

Q. How did your town got its name.

A. Buako was originally called Bamenko which meant a place reserved for the royalists. Any obstinate person could not get. In actual fact its name was Nkakeni but because it was reserved for the royalists it became Bamenko. Later on while we were fighting the Aowin a man from the royal family killed an elephant with a single bullet. The people settled at the spot where this animal was killed and as a result people used to say "I am going to where Buo kro is used to kill" the elephant. Hence Buako.

Q. Who was the first chief?

A. Kwasi Anfo.

Q. What clan did he belong to?

A. Asakyiri (Asankran).

Q. Could you give the list of chiefs?

1. Nana Kwasi Anfo
2. Nana Tano Kojo
3. Nana Kwasi Armah I
4. Nana Kwao Gyama I
5. Nana Kofi Owusu (Destooled)
6. Nana Danso.
7. Nana Kofi Owusu (Again destooled)
8. Nana Mintah
9. Nana Kwaku Adjei (Destooled)
10. Nana Kwasi Armah II (Destooled)
11. Nana Kwasi Badu (Destooled)
12. Nana Kwasi Fuachuo (Destooled)
13. Nana Kwao Gyama II (Reigning.) .

Q. Any appellations of the kings or things for which they are best remembered?

A. Nana Kwasi Amah I was named "sika nsuo". When Prempeh I assemblied all kings and chiefs to declare their status Nana Armah displayed his wealth by throwing coins about for people to collect while sitting in his palaquin. He also mixed "Eto" (marshed yam) with so much gold dust that the marshed yam could hardly be seen. In other words everything became almost gold.

Q. What about Anfo Kwasi?

A. He was the founder of our state. He was called Kwasi Anfo Okore because of his bravery. He defeated the Aowin and aided the Asantes during the Nzima wars.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. "Nana Kwao Gyama Wiawso"

Q. Why did you adopt this oath?

A. Nana went to Wiawso after the wars. Despite his victories he was maltreated and hence the oath.

Q. What are the penalties associated with this oath?

A. In the olden days a defaulter was charged "Bandeasne" (13s.) but now a defaulter is fined "Esuandoma" (£2. 8s).

Q. What do you do to any person who fails to pay the fine?

A. In the olden days such a person was sent to Wiawso and the next sentence was death. Now the person is sent to Wiawso palace where he is tried.

Q. What is the symbol placed on the umbrella?

A. The emblem is pineapple.

Q. Why did you choose this?

A. This shows that our clan is always permanent and never passes away.

Q. What is the role of your king in the government of the Sefwi state?

A. I am the Apendehene.

Q. Could you explain this "apende"?

A. The "apende" is a "fekuo" or group of chiefdoms who sing special war songs during festivals in priase of the Omanhene. Specifically they are kins to the Omanhene.

Q. What are the wing chiefs in your state?

A. 1. Sanyeramo
2. Mzinzin
3. Mkakeni
4. Mpomaamu
5. Eluokrom

Q. What are the main gods of your state?

A. Gyenfie.

Q. Where did you get Gyenfie?

A. The elders brought it from beyond the Nonue River.

Q. Why did you need Gyenfie?

A. Nana needed this to help him resist his enemies.

Q. What has been the achievement of Gyenfie?

A. It has helped to maintain peace. Gyenfie also helped

to maintain peace. Gyenfie also helped to adjugate cases by asking people to swear by this god to find out truths.

Q. How is it worshipped?

A. It is worshipped with hens and eggs.

Q. What are the prohibitions of Gyenfie?

A. Menstruated woman.

Q. What are the emblem on the main state sword?

A. Pineapple is placed on one. An elephant on another one. This means that when the Omanhene is away the next chief in importance is me.

Q. What does it mean when people blow the horn?

A. It means "Ogyapam de ne ndetia firi tete". This indicates that Nana is a royal from creation.
"Moyi mo aso; mo ntie ascem papa". Nana was always victorious during wars and hence he is calling the people to hear good news.

Q. During whose reign was the horn made?

A. Nana Anfo Kwasi.

Q. Who are your neighbours?

A. Brong Ahafo, Bechema and Tanoso.

Q. What has been the relationship between your state and the neighbouring states?

A. There has been peaceful relationships.

Q. What festival do you celebrate here?

A. Aluolue.

Q. Why do you do during Aluolue?

A. Prayer is said to the gods, rivers and the land asking them for peace and prosperity, and abundant children. Sheep is killed for the ancestors and marshed yam prepared for the stool.

Q. What do you do if any incident occur and so you cannot celebrate the Aluolue?

A. Libation is poured to tell the ancestors about the causes of failure to celebrate the Aluolue.

Q. How did people marry in the olden days?

A. The father married for the son in the olden days. Before marriage when the child got any money he brought it to the father. He accumulated this till the child grew old enough to marry. The father made choice for the son taking into consideration the girl's humility, diligence and beauty.

Q. Did you have any standing army?

A. No.

Q. How did you recruit people for war?

A. Gong gong was beaten to assemble all male adults.

Q. What did you use in wars?

A. Before the advent of guns and powder, clubs were used. Later guns and powder were introduced.

Q. During whose reign was gun and powder firstly used?

A. Nana Kwao Gyama I.

Q. Has Asafo been played in this town before?

A. Yes.

Q. How did you call it.

A. Kyirem.

Q. What were the taboos associated with Kyirem?

A. Menstruated woman.

Q. What function does the Asafo perform here?

A. The Asafo company helped to search for lost persons in the bush. When anybody committed suicide the Asafo company could be summoned to search for the body. Also, when a highwayman was known to live in the bush the Asafo company could be [illegible] for t

Q. go out to search for him.

Q. How did the people get guns and powder?

A. The chief provided everybody with powder but they provided themselves with gun.

Q. What was the penalty involved when anybody failed to go to war?

A. Anybody could have affair with his wife without any case

ensuing from it.

Q. What did the people without guns do during wars?

A. They were called "Nzaza brane". They cooked food for the troops.

Q. What function did the women play during wars?

A. They performed the "Momome" ceremony which was believed to help the warriors to be victorious. The women wore dresses portraying the various statuses of their husbands.

Q. What was the source of revenue to the king?

A. Gold was dug.

Q. What did you use to dig the gold?

A. Initially trees were sharpened to dig for the gold. Later on axes were used.

Q. Where did you get the axes?

A. North.

Q. What proportion of the gold was given to Nana?

A. When any gold nugget was found it was sent to Nana.

Q. How did Nana become rich?

A. Well, he had subjects who dug the gold for him. There were also certain days when all the citizens had to dig gold for him.

Q. What else did the people do for Nana?

A. Snails were also found for Nana.

Q. What goods did you send to the coast?

A. There were certain Europeans called Konkon who introduced the rubber trade.

Q. What goods did you buy from the coast?

A. Tobacco, drinks, clothes and salt.

Q. How did you sell the goods which you had bought from the coast?

A. There was no fixed market. We had to carry the goods and then go from house to house to sell them. Sometimes the goods were kept in the house and people came there to buy them.

Q. Where did you pass to the coast?

A. The route was through Bekwai and the Denkyira states.

Q. Were the traders taxed when they left their state and got into another kingdom?

A. No tax was levied but when the path was being weeded all traders had to stop and help.

Q. Did you pay anything to the landlord when you slept in his house?

A. No. Very often the traders rewarded the host for his hospitality.

Q. How did you cross rivers?

A. Ropes were provided and people climbed on such ropes. Later canoes came into use and the traders used to pay 6d. when they got beyond the river

Q. What did you buy from the north?

A. Blankets especially Bomo and Kasa and Kyekye; slaves.

Q. How did you get the slaves?

A. Kasari and Samori waged wars in the north to capture slaves. Such raiding compaigns made slaves available to be sold.

Q. Who were Kasari and Samori?

A. They were Hausa people.

Q. Who was Ebiri Moro?

A. He was an Asante. He was a warlike chief who once attempted to fight the Sefwis.

Q. Has there been any written records?

A. No.

PANEL

Nana Kwao Gyama II

Opanyin Kojo Tawiah Aduanahene.

Opanyin Kwame Bi Adontihene.

BODI

Q. To which clan do you belong?

A. Asona.

Q. How do you respond to greetings?

A. Abraw.

Q. What is a taboo to your clan?

A. Everybody observes his father's taboo and so we don't have one particular taboo for the clan in general.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. We came from Ebamboeso in Akim Kotoku.

Q. Why did you leave Akim Kotoku ?

A. There was an internal constitutional dispute followed by a long period of warfare and so we decided to leave for a more peaceful place. We came to settle at Wiawso.

Q. Who was the leader of your group?

A. Nana Kwasi Fori.

Q. What was the relationship between you and the Wiawso people.

A. Peaceful. The Omanhene of Sefwi was Nana Atta Kwasi who married our queenmother Akwasi Kwatemaa.

Q. Why did you leave Wiawso for this place?

A. There was a war between the Aowins and the Sefwis. We were a very powerful group so Nkua delegated us to chase the Aowins out of our land. It was in pursuit of the Aowins that we came to settle here.

Q. How did your town get its name?

A. After we had defeated the Aowins we settled in one of their villages owned by Bowi. This village became our hunting grounds. Later it grew large as more people came to settle there. Whenever anybody was coming to the village he said that he was going to Bowikrom. This town therefore became known as Bodi.

Q. Who was the first chief of your town?

A. Nana Kwasi Fori.

Q. What was the clan of Nana Kwasi Fori?

A. Asona.

Q. How did his clan become the ruling line?

A. Nana Kwasi Fori was the founder of this town. He came with his own stool and as such the town belongs to his family.

Q. Could you give me the list of your chiefs?

A. Nana Kwasi Fori
Nana Gyaben Panin
Nana Tano Kwadwo
Nana Awua
Nana Ebiduna — died on the stool
Nana Ayisi
Nana Ahi Kwaku
Nana Kwaw Asiedu
Nana Kofi Damptey
Nana Afukaa — destooled
Nana Kofi Assuah

Nana Ekyea Kwasi - abdicated
Nana Kojo Bie I - died on the stool
Nana Kwame Assuah (Kojo Bie II) destooled
Nana Kwasi Gyaben - destooled
Nana Kwasi Nyamekye - destooled
Nana Kwame Adu - reigning chief.

Q. Could you give me the list of your queenmothers?

A. Nana Akwasi Kwatemaa
Nana Yaa Mua
Nana Dendaa
Nana Afua Ankora — they all died on the stool
Nana Nkontomere
Nana Yaa Mena

Nana Abena Ma - reinging queenmother

Q. What is the oath of this town?

A. "Ewosebo"

Q. How did this oath come about?

A. At Wiawso we were staying at a ward called Ebanboeso where there was a kola nut tree. When Nana Ahi Kwaku died we buried him under this tree so we adopted this as an oath wherefore any

mention of "Ewosebo" (under the kola nut tree) reminds us of the death of our chief.

Q. What is the penalty associated with the violation of this oath?

A. Any one who violates the oath is fined 4s. (four shillings by whosoever arrests him. When he is brought to the palace he is fined Esudodunafa(£1 4s.)

Q. What is the name of the festival you celebrate here?

A. "Eluo".

Q. Why do you celebrate "Eluo" festival?

A. It is celebrated to remember the dead ancestors.

Q. How is the "Eluo" celebrated?

A. We start the celebration on Thursday which is mainly a day of mourning for the departed ones. On this day we sing dirges and play the fontonfrom and other drums. On Friday we slaughter sheep and offer drinks to the stools. We ask our ancestors to guide us in the coming years. The chief is then carried in the palaquin. A procession through the streets is made, and Saturday is a day for worshipping the gods of our town.

Q. What do you think would happen if you fail to celebrate the festival?

A. It is a taboo and there could be calamities in our community.

Q. What are your funeral rites?

A. After the burial of the chief a day is chosen for the funeral. Donations are made from sympathisers. If any debt was incurred as a result of the funeral the Gyasehene is made to accept the debt till the enstoolment of a new chief. The new chief has to pay the remaining debt.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. In the olden days any money earned by a young man is kept by the father. Thus when he finally decided to marry his father had to perform the marriage rites for him.

Q. How is the rite performed?

A. After both families had agreed to the marriage, the "tiri nsa"

ceremony was performed. If there was any debt to be settled on behalf of the girl, the man was asked to pay. After this assorted cloths, pomades and other things were bought for the bride.

Q. Why do you perform the "tiri nsa" ceremony?

A. This is done to legalise the marriage. After the "tiri nsa" ceremony anybody who had an affair with the woman was made to pay adultery fees.

Q. How is the "tiri nsa" ceremony performed?

A. The would-be bridegroom brings drinks and salt. Elders of the families of the couple meet and three holes are dug in which some of the salt is put. Libation is then poured to the departed ancestors of the woman to bless the marriage, to make the woman have many children, a successful marriage and other blessings that go to make a good marriage. The libation is poured thus:

Mother Earth (Asase) drinks
The departed relatives of so and so drinks
Your relative (granddaughter) is going to marry.
Let her have a successful marriage
Don't make her flirt
Don't make her involve her husband in debt.
This is drink from her husband
Today he is performing the "tiri nsa"
All ancestors come and drink
And bless this marriage.

Q. Why do you dig three holes?

A. This is of ancient origin. It symbolises the hearth on which the woman would cook.

Q. How is justice administered in your town?

A. When the disputants come to the palace the chief and his elders form the panel. We make them pay Esuadoma (2 8s.) before we start examining their cases. The guilty side forfeits his amount and is also fined extra money to pacify the other party.

Q. What weapons were used in the wars you fought?

A. Gun, gunpowder, bullets.

Q. What weapons did you use prior to the advent of the Europeans?

A. Battons and stones were often used. We also used arrows.

Q. Have you ever had an Asafo company here?

A. Yes, but we had stopped their organization.

Q. What were the taboos of the Asafo company?

A. A menstrual woman should not touch the drums.

Q. What is your role in the government of the Sefwi state?

A. Adontehene. We led the Sefwi battalion during wars.

Q. What are the villages under your administration?

A. Tumantu, Puakron, Kojobikron, Sonkori and Nzenzem.

Q. What are their obligations to your town?

A. They stay at the various vantage points of our land and they bring me information about events. Each of them also bring a sheep to be slaughtered to the stool during the festival.

Q. Do these chiefs have anything to say in the constitutional affairs in the Sefwi state?

A. They don't have any direct say. They all follow me in whatever action I take.

Q. What is the system of inheritance in this town?

A. Matrilineal but brothers are always considered before nephews when a stool becomes vacant.

Q. What god helps you in the administration of this town?

A. Boson Nketia.

Q. What have been the achievements of Boson Nketia?

A. It has helped this town to expand.

Q. How is Boson Nketia worshipped?

A. It is worshipped with sheep, mashed yam and its day is Sunday.

Q. What is the symbol on your royal staff?

A. The model is a skull which mean that like the skull in a soup Bodi does not vanish in the Sefwi state. Its presence is always felt. We were powerful and always played leading roles in the wars.

Q. What message does it impart when the horn is blown?

A. It states "Kofi wotee anaa" and the chief replies yes "nete".

Q. Why does the horn say so?

A. The chief was reminded of an impending war when the horn was blown in the past. His reply showed his preparedness to go and fight.

Q. During whose reign was this horn carved?

A. Nana Kofi Damptey.

Q. What role was played by the women during wars?

A. They washed themselves, smeared their bodies with white clay and then dressed in white clothes and sang incantations in a procession through the principal streets. This is the "Monome" ceremony. This ceremony eases the tension of warfare.

Q. Where and in what items did you partake in trade?

A. Wild rubber was tapped and carried to Cape Coast. The journey took about two weeks. When the rubber was sold we bought goods which we later sent to the Bondouku area to trade with.

Q. With what did you trade before rubber was first tapped?

A. We prospected for gold. We dug gold from the ground. At first we extracted samples of the earth which we later washed to find out whether it contained gold. We continued to dig that particular area for more gold if we found any.

Q. Did Nana partake in gold prospecting?

A. Nana had his Gyase and wives who accompanied him to prospect for the gold. However, when anybody found a gold nugget he had to send it to the chief who took his share.

Q. What goods did you take to the coast?

A. We sent only gold dust.

Q. What goods did you buy from the coast?

A. Salt, tobacco, guns and gunpowder.

Q. How did you get a sleeping place when you got to any town while you were going to trade and you had to spend the night there?

Every group of traders had a Batahene who catered for the welfare of the group. If we reached any town it was the duty of the Batahene to go from house to house to request for sleeping places. We were

often given "pato" (open space) where we slept.

Q. Did you pay anything to the host?

A. No. We however bought plantain from him. Friendly relationship was also established and on our return journey we could bring him salt, tobacco and other gifts.

Q. How did you cross big rivers on your journeys to the trading centres?

A. There were canoes on the big rivers and the boatsmen ferried us across these rivers. We paid between three pence and six pence depending on the width of the of the river.

Q. What cruelties were perpetuated by the Denkyiras?

A. They refused to give us drinking water and even in the night when we reached their towns we were asked to fetch our own firewoods before we cooked.

Q. What did you use in digging out the gold?

A. Hoes. We also had tools from Tunsuosin. Whenever we needed any tool and we poured libation we had whatever we had requested for.

Q. How did you get cutlasses to farm prior to the arrival of the Europeans?

A. We could melt a stone called "kyeben" to make cutlasses. These cutlasses were called adere.

Q. Did you fear the presence of any highwayman on the way to the trading centre?

A. We feared highwaymen and because of that we travelled in large groups.

Q. Did you hear of any highwayman who became notorious for his robberies?

A. There was an Ashanti called Kwame Abe.

Q. Did you trade with the north?

A. Yes. We sent goods which we had bought from the coast to the north.

Q. What goods did you buy from the north?

A. Sheabutter, cloths such as Fusa and then blankets like kasa, bono. We also bought slaves.

Q. Could you make your own cloths prior to your trade with the north?

A. We used "kyenkyen" for this. It was a bark of a tree which we beat until it became soft and later used as cloth. It could be dyed in different colours.

Q. Why did slaves become easily available in the north?

A. This was due to wars waged by Samori who had many captives for sale.

Q. What were the trading centres in the north?

A. Bondouku and Sefa.

Q. What did you do to the slaves you bought from the North?

A. We incorporated some into our families. We married the females among them. For such a marriage one had to perform the marriage rites to one's brothers.

Q. What symbol is on top of your royal umbrella?

A. A cock.

Q. Why did you choose a cock?

A. During the years he was at war, Nana Ahi Kwaku had a cock which when it crowed at dawn was an omen of success. This meant that Nana could go to the war. We therefore placed the cock on our umbrella.

Q. Which of the chiefs did something for which he is best remembered?

A. Kofi Damptey was able to defray all debts owed by the stool. He therefore earned the title Nana Kofi Damptey "oku ka" (kills debts")

Q. Did any of your chiefs go to war?

A. Nana Gyaben panin fought the Aowins. Nana Ahi Kwaku also fought Nzemas.

Q. Have there been any written records of your traditional history?

A. No.

Panel

Joseph Kwabena Kwateng - 51 years
Opayin Yaw Nkua - 62 years
Okyeame Atta Kwabena - 52 years
Stephen Kojo Bie - 30 years,
Nana Kwame Adu chief of Bodi, 57 years.

BONZAN

Q. How do you call your town?

A. Bonzan.

Q. Why did you name your town Bonzan?

A. There is a river near here whose current deposited gold on the banksof the river. The Sefwi name for the gold deposited on the banks was "Nzena" Hence the name "Bo nzena" meaning " throwing out gold".

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. Agona.

Q. From where did you come to stay here?

A. We did not migrate from any place. We descended from heaven to stay here.

Q. What are the names and greetings associated with your ntoro?

A. The greetings associated with my ntoro is "Nyanto" or "ya Agona na".

Q. What has been your language since you came here?

A. Bonzan. Really we are not Sefwis but Bonzan people.

Q. What are the names of other clans in your town?

A. Aduana, Asona.

Q. Has the Agona clan been the ruling clan since the ancient times?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever been staying here?

A. The present town is the third one.

Q. Why did you move from those two sites to this place?

A. The first site was swampy and the second one also was mountanous. As a result they were unfavourable for settlement.

Q. When did you build this town?

A. 1949.

Q. Which towns or states have been your neighbours?

A. Aowin.

Q. What was the relationship between your state and Aowin?

A. There was war for some time but later on peace was restored.

Q. Why did you fight the Aowin?

A. Our elders waged war of expansion and thus came in conflict with the Aowin.

Q. Could you give me the list of your Kings?

A. 1. Nana Ofori
2. Nana Gyabeng Panin
3. Nana Kwaw Afum
4. Nana Adu Yaw
5. Nana Ewui Kwame
6. Nana Kwadwo Fuachie
7. Nana Kwadwo Ntaadu
8. Nana Tweneboa - destooled
9. Nana Kwaw Asiedu II - destooled.
10. Nana Mtaadu II - reigning.

Q. Why did you destool some of the chiefs?

A. This was because the elders never had concerted decision on issues concerning the chiefs.

Q. Could you give the list of queenmothers?

1. Mmera Akua
2. Nsuo Anso
3. Fuakyewa
4. Akua Sanwa
5. Tano Akosua
6. Amma Kom
7. Kessewa
8. Badu
9. Eba yaa.

Q. Which of the chiefs went to a war?

A. Nana Kwaw Asiedu.

Q. Which people did he fight?

A. Wiaswo people.

Q. Why did Nana Kwaw Asiedu fight Wiawsohene?

A. Bonzan was controlling an extensive area teemed with many people. Wiawso wanted to bring this area under her control. Hence the conflict between the two resulting in

a war.

Q. Which chiefs also fought?

A. Nana Ewui Kwame and Nana Adu Yaw.

Q. Which wars did they fight?

A. The Nzima war.

Q. Why did you go to Nzima wars?

A. Nana Ewui Kwame was very warlike who was always successful in his war campaigns so Asantehene could ask him to fight wars on his behalf.

Q. Which of the chiefs has any appellations which are now remembered?

A. "Nana Ewui Kwame a Okum akomfoo"

Q. Which akomfo (priests) did he kill to earn such a name?

A. During the Nzima wars he was able to kill their leading fetish priest.

Q. What other appellations do you know?

A. "Nana Adu Yaw Asamoa Nkwanta.

Q. How did he acquire this name?

A. Asamoa Nkwanta are weeds unknown in Sefwi prior to the Fante wars. However after the Fante wars led by Nana Adu Yaw these weeds were brought to Sefwi. Thus his name became associated with these weeds.

Q. What are the oaths of your town?

A. Initially the oath was "Nana Memenda" but later changed to "Bonzanhene Ayinasee"

Q. Why did you adopt Memeneda as an oath?

A. When we went to the Gyaman wars we lost most of our people so we adopted this oath.
Coupled with this was the fact that after we had returned from the war the chief lost his mother on that fateful Saturday.

Q. Why did you change this oath?

A. This is because it was something to do with - signalled the death of the chief without having much importance for all the citizens of Bonzan. In fact we wanted an oath which involved all the Bonzan people.

Q. Why did you adopt the Bonzanhene Ayinasee?

A. It was under this tree (oak tree) that we lost greatly to the enemy during the Nzima wars.

Q. Were you autonomous since your town was built?

A. Yes.

Q. How did you become surbordinate to Wiawso state?

A. It came like this, when we went to the Nzima wars, our loss was greater than that of the Wiawso people. This was an occasion when we had the title "Okum akomfo" and Wiawsohene had the title Aduhene "Ko gye aboo". Well, since Aduhene had a larger population than us the Asantehene proposed that there must be amalgamation and that Bonzan should subject herself to Wiawso. This is the reason why we had the title of Kontihene of Sefwi.
Secondly, another evidence also shows that after many abortive attempts by Bonzan to subdue Wiawso they were forced to surrender to Wiawsohene. Bonzan was therefore taken to the Wiawso palace by Bodihene who was then the Kotihene. Because of the warlike nature of Bonzan they were asked always to be in front of Bodi during any gathering so as to be easily suppressed. This explains why Bodi was given the title Adontenhene and Bonzan Kontihene.

Q. Which sub-chiefs are under you to help you rule your state?

A. Asuonta
Ayinam
Dorme
Nkwanta
Adiemra
Eluibo
Menetemano
Aborokofe
Dayame
Marsokrom
Nkaasu
Krokosue

Q. Do all these chiefs have palaquins?

A. I have permitted every chief here to use palaquins.

Q. Does any chief have the right to send his palaquins to Wiawso during any occasion?

A. No. I could only take along my palaquin.

Q. What are the gods of your state?

A. Bonzan.

Q. Do you perform any yearly ceremonies?

A. It is worshipped on Thursdays and thus during Thursdays or during yearly celebrations we worship it with drinks, sheep, marshed yam and cocks.

Q. Has there been any occasion when this god had not been worshipped?

A. No.

Q. What would happen if something happened to make it impossible to hold this celebration?

A. There is likelihood of famine and infant mortality. As a result, if anything, say war, occurred which makes its celebration difficult we pour libation to inform it of the problems facing us. Often before war the fetishes are asked of possible results of the war. If the result would be detrimental to us then we pull out.

Q. What has been the achievements of Bonzan?

A. Bonzan is able to eradicate any epidemic.

Q. Does it kill?

A. Yes, but not when his rules are obeyed. It is also able to help barren couples to have children.

Q. What are the taboos of Bonzan?

A. Any menstruated woman should not cross the river Bonzan. Secondly poison should not be poured into the river with the intention to fish. Thirdly if anybody swears by this god with the aim to deceive, the victim would be killed by the god.

Q. How did Bonzan become a god?

A. In the olden days Bonzan would speak through people. Hence it pronounced that it could help build Bonzan. Some one

therefore became possessed by this river.

Q. Does it still have a priest?

A. When the priest died the inheritor was reluctant to be a priest to this god.

Q. What are penalties associated with your oath?

A. Any defaulter was fined £1 1s.

Q. What happens if any defaulter proves recalcitrant to pay his fine?

A. In the olden days such a person was killed. Nowadays the defaulter is sent to court.

Q. What symbol has been placed on Nana's leading umbrella?

A. When Nana was Omanhene a hand was modelled to show that he ruled all. Since he became a Kontihene an "Ehoe" has been modelled and placed on it.

Q. What do they mean when the horn is blown?

A. Nana has got seven different horns. One is blown to mean "Mmoa nyinaa sisi adoa" All animals are bigger than "Adoa" (antelope) and so are able to bully it but it still remains chief of all the animals. Another one is blown to say "Kotoko moye bofoo".

Q. During whose reign were these horns created?

A. "Mmoa nyinaa sisi adoa" was created by Kwadwo Ntaadu II. "Kotoko moye bofoo was created by Nana Kwaw Asiedu.

Q. Do you have any other lyrics to your horn?

A. Another is "Nea owoo me kaa".

Q. Why was the horn blown to mean this?

A. Bonzan lost greatly during one of the wars. Inspite of this loss, Nana Adu Yaw lost his father and hence this proverb.

Q. What is meant when your drum "Twinisini" is beaten?

A. They say, "Kantamanto, Kantamanto, Kantamanto".

Q. During whose reign was the Twinisini carved?

A. Nana Gyabeng Panin.

Q. Why is it that the drum sounds "Kantamanto"?

A. This means "when he swears an oath he does not break it" If he swore to bring a head during wars he fulfilled it. As a result the Asantehene became alarmed and then said "Eh! barima yi, oka ntam a onto". Hence the meaning of the drum.

Q. Which of Nana's state swords indicates the presence of Bonzan people?

A. There is one with an axe carved unto it. This means when anything happens and Bonzanhene passes away everything is ended.

Q. How will your people know of Nana's position during a large gathering?

A. Nana's drum, "Kantamanto" and the umbrella with a modelled "Ehoo" placed on it are enough to show any Bonzan citizen that Nana is here or there.

Q. Do you have any festival exclusive of that of Wiawso?

A. Yes. After the Wiawsohene had celebrated his "Aluolue" festival a period of 40 days is elapsed before Bonzanhene celebrates his festival.

Q. How do you celebrate the festival?

A. The festival lasts for 2 to 4 days. On Thursday everybody remembers the dead. Drums are beaten and people drink heavily. Strangers from various villages come in to Bonzan in their large numbers. The stools' room is cleaned. On Friday, drums are beaten, chiefs and all citizens and visitors dress nicely for merry making. The chiefs are carried in palaquins and procession is taken through the streets of Bonzan. Prior to the procession the Bonzanhene is taken to the river Bonzan to be washed. Water from the river is splashed on the people in the gathering. Libation is poured for peace, prosperity, abundant children. and good harvest.

Q. When Nana dies, how do you celebrate his funeral?

A. Very often an immediate announcement is not made of the death. During this time children should not go out. Even strangers along roads are often not seen. This period is observed till the Oman becomes satisfied. After this the Asantehene was informed (when we were autonomous) and later the Sefwi Omanhene is informed (when we became Kontihene).

Q. How do you settle the costs of the funeral?

A. The elders accept the responsibility of paying the debt when the Biripon dies. But there is no occasion when any debt has come from such celebration.

Q. Does Nana send anything to Wiawsohene during any festival?

A. No.

Q. Do you have songs to praise Nana when he dies?

A. Kwadwom are sung to praise Nana, other songs to portray Nana's greatness are also sung.

Q. How do you recruit an army during wars?

A. The Twinisini is beaten to summon people. Every male adult is elegible to go to war. Any young man could not buy guns and powder. Nana provided the gun powder. Nana also had as many as 200 guns which he supplied to the people. Most of the elderly men and some of the young-men owned guns which they used in the war.

Q. How did Nana get money to buy such guns and powder?

A. Before the advent of the Europeans our river Bonzan was filled with gold dust. This gold dust was called "Nzima" in Sefwi and the name "Bonzan" is derived from this. It could be obtained from the river without digging. So during this period every person was engaged in finding gold. There was a specific day when everybody had to obtain gold for Nana. The chief's Gyasefoo went round to supervise them. On any other day when anybody went out to dig for gold the chief had no share. However, if any body found a nugget of gold which we call "epo" the person had to send it to the chief.

Q. Could any stranger dig for gold?

A. Yes. The only condition was that the visitor had to contribute something to the chief on the day fixed for everybody to dig gold for him.

Q. How did you go to war prior to the advent of the Europeans?

A. When the Europeans had not come, war was called "mpatakwa". In this kind of war, fighting - sticks were used in fighting. Such fighting-sticks were thrown against the opposing sides. If any group had its fighting-sticks exhausted then its people would be caught as slaves.

Q. During whose reign was gun powder firstly used?

A. Nana Kwaw Asiedu.

Q. How did you get guns?

A. We bought them from Kankyiabo.

Q. What was the route to Ogua?

A. The route was through Sefwi Bekwai State, Denkyira and Efutu kingdoms.

Q. Did you pay any taxes when you crossed your kingdom into another state?

A. No. But if any trader met the people making repairs on the route he had to assist them.

Q. How did you put to use the revenue raised from ferrying travellers across rivers?

A. The revenue was divided into three. The Omanhene was given one-third; the chief owning the land received one-third and the men who paddled the canoe received the rest.

Q. How did you get a place to lodge when you went out to trade?

A. We went from house to house and asked for a sleeping place. We were often given an open room (domprane) to sleep. We never paid anything but on our return journey we brought them gifts of tobacco and salt.

Q. When a visitor came to you and unfortunately he died, what did you do with his goods?

A. When a visitor died in anybody's house the chief of the town was informed. He instructed people to bury the body. Then his goods were kept and emissaries sent out to announce the death to the relatives. If the relatives failed to come his goods were distributed between the chief and the owner of the house.

Q. Could anybody guard himself against any highwayman by going on a journey armed with guns or cutlasses?

A. Traders and other travellers could arm themselves with cutlasses kept in their scabbards but the law did not permit people carrying guns.

Q. What goods did you buy from Oguaa?

A. Salt, cutlass, gun, bullets.

Q. How did you sell the goods you had bought from Oguaa?

A. Traders went from house to house to sell goods. There was no market of the modern type.

Q. Was there any occasion when the chief ordered a trader to desist from coming to his town?

A. This could happen if the trader caused trouble or misfortune to my town In the olden days too if the fetishes proclaimed that epidemic disease would come from a particular place, the chief could order the closure of a route leading to it. It was a breach of law for any visitor to come to our town along that route.

Q. Did you trade in the North?

A. Yes.

Q. What goods did you buy from the North?

A. Shea butter, slaves, blankets like Fusa, Bomo, kyekye and Akasamandenje.

Q. Have you participated in the kola trade before?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you do with the slaves you had bought from the North?

A. They were my subjects and belonged to any clan or family. I often married the females when I chose.

Q. Did you perform any customary rites when you were marying the slave you had bought?

A. Very often no rite was performed but if I were to do so, I gave the drinks (mesi yetiri nsa) to my brother.

Q. What changes had come to your society since the advent of the Europeans?

A. There have been many changes. Nowadays when a chief dies, the death is announced on that very day; the means of transport has changed. Previously, we walked from here to Oguaa. We have clothes and many others.

Q. What did you use to clothe yourselves before the advent of the Europeans?

A. There was a cloth called "Bofunu" made from the bark of a tree called Kyenkyen. The bark of this tree was beaten till it became

soft.

Q. Could you dye this cloth into various colours as the modern cloths?

A. Yes. The Bofunu could be dyed. Some trees could give different colours. Also the Bofunu could be placed in a muddy place for some time. This would give it a black colour.

Q. If any issue came out from the slave you had married, did this child belong to your family?

A. The child is your son though he could not inherit you.

Q. Could not there be an occasion when such a child could inherit somebody in the family?

A. He could be asked to be a regent if the people in the family who had bought him were only left with women or small boys but he could not rule as a chief.

Q. Well, if in the period of regency he died, could a black stool be made in his name.

A. No. He was just a caretaker and even the stool was not formally given to him.

Q. Has any ancient item been discovered in the forest and preserved by you?

A. No.

Q. When your son reaches an age to marry, what do you expect from the child before you marry for him?

A. In the child's youthful age, when he worked, his income had to be brought to me. He performed all services for me. I am expected to marry for him.

Q. What did you do to show that the girl was now legally married?

A. In the olden days drinks were given to the relatives of the girl. This was known as "tiri nsa" . Three holes were dug and libation poured to confirm that the girl was henceforth married.

Q. Did you choose a girl for your son or your son could make his own choice and later inform you?

A. Very often the father could make the choice for the son but at times the child could suggest to the father that he had seen such a girl whom he would like to marry.

Q. Did you have to buy a gun for your son before he married?

A. The father could buy a gun for the son either before or after his marriage.

Q. How do you name a child in your town?

A. The father does not name the child. It is only people whose response to greetings is "Amu" that are eligible to name children. An old woman is engaged to do this and firstly, she puts the child on her thigs. Palm wine is put in a silver pan and the old woman shouts "Nyafoo nkwa! thrice with the people present responding "Boto, boto, dwoo!! The child is then raised and told, "Child your father says you are called ..... (such a name) The child is then given some of the palm wine from a leaf put in the wine

Q. Is the child given any premium?

A. Yes. In the olden days the child might be given twenty pesewas which was usually used to buy a hen for the child.

Q. When the elders used to travel for many days, didn't they fear any highway man?

A. They feared such people.

Q. Could you give any name which became notorious for such deed?

A. Kwame Abe.

Q. Why did the chief not beat a gong-gong for the people to go and arrest Kwame Abe?

A. Kwame Abe had juju and could vanish among crowd. People went out to arrest Kwame Abe but were unsuccessful.

Q. Who was Kwame Abe?

A. He was an Ashanti.

Q. Has any Moslem scholar come to write the History of your town before?

A. No.

Q. Has anybody attempted to write the History of your town?

A. I have now started to write the History.

Q. How did people know that gold could be found in a particular place?

A. The gold was mostly dug along the banks of the River Bonzan. This river could deposit lumps of gold at its banks and when people saw them they started to dig for more. Outside the banks of the

people
river the/dug any place they thought that gold could be found. At times, they could not get any at all.

Q. Which were the best beads?

A. Amankwatia, "owo mma" etc.

Q. How did the owo mma produce more.

A. A ~~marshed~~ yam was given to it and in a very short time its number got increas ed by itself.

Q. Did Nana have special people in his palace whose duty it was to trade for Nana? Or how did Nana obtain money?

A. When anybody killed any game Nana was to have a share, and there was a special day when people had to do certain services for Nana.

Q. When Nana had any items worth selling how did he send these to the coast to sell? Or how did Nana buy things from the coast?

A. Nana has his Gyasefoo, who are responsible to carry such goods. This group is led by a leader called Batahene who cares for all the Gyasefoo on their way to and from the coast.

Q. If any youngman becomes rich in your town, how do you bring him into the ruling class in order to avert selfishness on his part?

A. He is elected to the office of say, linguist (Okyeame).

Q. Do you make any black stool for such a person?

A. No.

Q. Could his family inherit him after his death?

A. If there is any fitting man for the post such a person would inherit him.

Q. Do you name a child after anybody you choose?

A. The first child should be named after somebody from your parternal line. The rest could be named after anybody you choose.

PANEL

1. Nana Yaw Ntaadu II, Kontihene of Wiawso Traditional area, Bonzanhene; Enstooled in 1945.
2. Kofi Yeboah, Okyeamehene.
3. Yaw Nkuah, Okyeamehene
4. Kwasi Bota, Aborokofehene, Odikro.
5. Danso, Okyeame.

6. Morgan Ntaadu, Nephew of Bonzanhene, Teacher
7. Kwasi Badu, Gyasehene
8. Nana Kwaku Awua

Q. Do you know of any place called Nkasa or Nkakeni?

A. Nkakeni is near Wiawso but have never heard of Nkasa.

BOSOMOISO

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. Oyoko.

Q. What is the taboo associated with your clan?

A. Tortoise.

Q. Why is that tortoise is your taboo?

A. When any Oyoko member eats tortoise the person becomes sick.

Q. What are the greetings associated with your ntoro?

A. Abraw.

Q. From where did you come to settle in this area?

A. Pramnso.

Q. Did you meet any people here on your arrival?

A. We met nobody in this place.

Q. Who was your leader?

A. Nana Ebene.

Q. How did your town get its name?

A. The town was named after a hole which had been here since creation. People later came out from this hole. It was this, an old woman from this town saw a lot of people coming out from the ground. She became startled and exclaimed "can Nana Aduhene I feed all these people?". When the woman said this the remaining people who were to come out retreated and the rest came to join the population in Sefwi. They mostly settled in this town.

Q. Who was your first king?

A. Nana Ebene.

Q. How and why did his clan become the royal family?

A. This was because he was the first to come to this place. In a word, he founded the town.

Q. Which states have been your neighbours?

A. Boakohene and Amafiehene.

Q. What has been the relationship between your state and the neighbouring ones?

A. Peaceful.

Q. Could you give me the list of kings.

A. Nana Kwasi Ebene
Nana Kwame Asamoah
Nana Ebiri Sika
Nana Kwadwo Boadu
Nana Kyem Kwaw
Nana Kwaw Ahwoi
Nana Yaw Badu
Nana Ackaa Kwabena
Nana Kwame Kabie
Nana Kwabena Efie
Nana Kwaku Nkua
Nana Yaw Somiah
Nana Boateng - reigning chief

Queenmothers
Abena Afia
Akosua Sonaa
Asamoa Kokor
Afua Akoma
Yaa Sari - reigning.

Q. Who were the contemporary kings of the neighbouring states or the empire?

A. Nana Ebene - The contemporary king was Ntim Gyakari of Senkyira.
Kwaw Ahwoi - the contemporary king was Kofi Karikari of Kumasi.

Q. Tell me what happened in the reign of each of these kings with particular reference to, wars he fought, causes and results.

A. Nana Ebiri Sika fought the Aowins at Pramanso. There was land dispute between the chief of the Aowins and the Wiawsohene.

Q. What improvements did any chief effect during his reign for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Kwaku Nkua was the first chief to establish a school in this town.

Q. Could you give me any appellations of the chiefs and things for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Ebiri Sika. Nana Ebiri was so rich that he earned the title "Sika" (money). He made many regalia.

Q. What is the symbol placed on your leading umbrella?

A. A symbol of a bird called Abuboro.

Q. Why did you choose this bird?

A. This means "abuburo kosua, ade a ebe yeyie no ensee da".

Q. During whose reign was this umbrella made?

A. Nana Kwaku Nkua.

Q. What caused Nana Nkua to adopt this proverb?

A. When Nana Nkua was enstooled he was faced with financial problems and family disputes but later on he was relieved of all these encumbrances. This is why he adopted this proverb.

Q. Tell me the names of villages and divisions which come under your chiefstancy.

A. Kaporo, Sobiri, Ayisakrom

Q. What are the functions of these villages?

A. When Nana Omanhene invites me to his palace I ask them to follow me. In the olden days they performed services for me.

Q. What are the rules of succession in your town?

A. The rule of succession is matrilineal. Usually the elders in the royal family are first considered. If they are ineligible due to certain disabilities, then the stool makers shift on to another candidate.

Q. What are the qualities expected of a man before he is enstooled as a chief?

A. Hard working, intelligent and good morals.

Q. What is the main god of your town?

A. Sobre.

Q. Why is Sobre chosen to support your stool?

A. Sobre had helped us to be triumphant in many wars.

Q. How is sobre worshipped?

A. Sobre is worshipped with dogs and "odoka" wine.

Q. What is the symbol on the main state sword?

A. Plantain and Banana.

Q Why did you choose these as your symbols?

A. This means that "Wosua bodee a sua kwadu nso, na obi nim eda a okom beba" (Literally) One should know how to eat plantain and banana together for nobody knows when there would be famine.

Q. What is the oath of your state?

A. "Nana tra abua".

Q. How did this come to be adopted?

A. As Nana Kwaw Ahwoi was smoking his pipe he was choked by the smoke which caused his death. Hence this oath.

Q. What are the penalties attached to this oath?

A. Any defaulter is fined 8s.

Q. What are the main festivals of your state?

A. Alueluo.

Q. Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. To commemorate the death of our ancestors.

Q. If something happened which prevented the celebration of the festival what did you do?

A. Libation is poured to tell the ancestors of what has happened and then the festival is postponed.

Q. What are your funeral rites?

A. When a chief dies, musketery is fired. However, the death is not publicised for about 3 days. After the funeral celebration and any debt comes about of it, the inheritor is asked to pay it.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. When the boy is young he gives all his income to his father for save keeping. When the child is grown enough to marry and he has about £8 - ₵16.00 the father subsidizes this amount and marries for his son.

Q. Why do people dig three holes when the Tiri nsa ceremony is being carried out?

A. This is a sign of peaceful marriage. The salt brought by the husband is put into the three holes and libation poured. The bride is not to eat some of the remaining salt used in this ceremony.

Q. What do they mean when people beat the "Twinisini" drum?

A. They mean "San kohwe w'akyi".

Q. Why is the drum played to impart this message?

A. This means literally, "Go and look at your back". People usually backbite their neighbours while they are away. The drum is therefore reminding people to the world to see what happens when they are dead.

Q. How is justice administered in your town?

A. When there is a dispute between people, the case is brought to the palace. The case is looked into by the elders who form the council. Pronouncement is given by the elders after hearing the evidences.

Q. Did your state have any standing army?

A. No.

Q. If not, how did you raise your army?

A. The gong-gong is beaten to summon all the adults to the palace. Every adult was eligible for war.

Q. What is the penalty imposed on anybody who refused to go to war?

A. Anybody could have an affair with his wife without imposing any fine on the culprit.

Q. What ammunition did you use to go to war?

A. Gun and powder?

Q. How did you get the gun and powder?

A. The elders could make guns themselves from a pebble known in Sefwi as "kyiben".

Q. What are the main sources of revenue for the king and people of this town?

A. Gold. There was also trade to the coast and the North.

Q. How did the chief get enough gold?

A. When anybody found a nugget of gold, it was to be sent to the chief. Also there were certain days when everybody was to dig for gold for Nana. In addition to this Nana had his Gyaasefoo, wives and children who dug gold for Nana.

Q. How did you know that gold was at a place to be dug?

A. The people dug everywhere especially near river banks for the gold.

Q. What equipments did you use to dig for the gold.

A. A cutlass called "adere" was used in digging for the gold. This adere was made from the "kyiben".

Q. What trading items did you take to the coast to sell?

A. We sent only gold.

Q. What did you bring from the coast?

A. Salt and tobacco.

Q. Could you not make salt before the advent of the Europeans?

A. We could make salt from the peels of the plantain.

Q. How did you get a place to lodge on reaching any town?

A. The leader of the traders went from house to house to ask for a sleeping place. Usually we were given an open room (pato) in which we slept.

Q. Did you pay anything to the house owner?

A. We paid nothing to the house owner.

Q. What then did the house owner get from his house?

A. The traders often bought salt or tobacco to the house owner on their return journey. The traders also bought plantain from the house owner.

Q. How did you cross any river when you came to it?

A. Those who knew how to swim, swam across the rivers. Others were often helped by canoes.

Q. What did you do if one of the traders died in the course of your travelling?

A. The person is buried. His load is then given to a labourer who carries it along with us. If we could not get anybody we leave it there with the house owner till we came back.

Q. Where did you pass when you were going to the coast?

A. We passed through Denkyira, Efutu and Twifo territories.

Q. What did the elders take to the North to sell?

A. Kola nuts and gold.

Q. What did you buy from the North?

A. We bought cloth called "kyekye", kasa and slaves.

Q. What did you do with the slaves you dought?

A. Some of the slaves were incorporated into the family of the owner. We often married the females, who appeared nice to us.

Q. If you were going to marry any slave, to whom did you make the customary rites?

A. We did not make any rites because the slave is our own property. If we were to make rites, this was done before our brothers.

Q. Could you tell me the name of any trading town?

A. Bondouku and Kankiabo.

Q. How did you get the people to buy?

A. There was a war in the north, organised by Samouri. Slaves became abundant because of these wars.

Q. Who was Samouri?

A. He was from Kankan.

Q. What was the route to the North?

A. We passed through Wenchi and Gyaaman.

Q. Are there ancient sites here?

A. No.

Q. Has there been any land dispute?

A. No.

Q. Has there been any constitutional dispute?

A. No.

Q. Has there been any written records?

A. No.

PANEL

Nana Yaw Boateng - Bosomoisohene - 50 years
Nana Yaa Sari - queenmother
Kwasi Asamoah - okyeame
Yaw Nkua - elder
Adu Kofi - elder
Adu Kwabena - elder
Kofi Mune - elder
Kwaw Ankama - elder.

DEBISO

Q. To which clan do you belong?

A. Aberade.

Q. What other clans do you know in this town?

A. Oyoko, Aduana, Agona.

Q. What are the taboos of Aberade?

A. My elders did not tell me the taboos of our clan, but my father's taboo is the antelope (adoa).

Q. What is the greeting of your clan?

A. Yaa Abraw.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. Subiri in the Anhwiaso area. Our ancestors married at Subiri. They then moved to Anhwiaso and later founded a town called Debiso. The ancient site is still there. The founders of the town were Kwaku Duro, Yaw Anaafi, Kofi Kaa, Kwasi Anini. They have all died.

Q. Which people did you meet here?

A. We did not come to meet any other people.

Q. What language did you speak?

A. Sefwi.

Q. Please, have you found out some objects to indicate that there has been an earlier settlement here?

A. No.

Q. Which towns have been your neighbours?

A. Pataboso and Breman.

Q. How was this town founded?

A. This area was once a thick forest. As we began to clear the forest to build houses the work became really difficult. One falling tree after another fell on the other, so we concluded that "here some fell on the other", "Ebi da ebi so". This was how the town got its name.

Q. Who was the first chief of this town?

A. Nana Kwaku Duro.

Q. What was his clan?

A. Aberade.

Q. Which of the chiefs achieved a feat for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Kwaku Duro who had many slaves from the north.

Q. What is the oath of this town?

A. Nana Efiada. Nana Kwaku Duro lost his sister on Saturday so he adopted this day as his oath.

Q. What is the penalty for any violation of the oath?

A. Anyone who violates the oath is fined. In the case of dispute, disputants are each asked to pay (8s.) eight shillings. This is "nteho". They are then asked to pay Esuadoma (£2. 8s.). This is termed "Ntadwam". The guilty one forfeits the "ntadwam" after the case has been examined and judged. The panel which examines the case fines the guilty party about four shillings and the innocent party is later pacified.

Q. What are your enstoolment rites?

A. Inheritance is matrilineal. But a brother to the former chief is considered before the nephews. The chief - elect is asked to pay "Esanunsa" (£4. 13s.). If he has a house it is necessary to get a responsible person to take over the house else the house will be delapidated.

Q. What god helps you in the administration of this town?

A. Amponsa.

Q. How did you get Amponsa?

A. I am not sure but our ancestors brought it along while they were coming.

Q. How do you worship Amponsa?

A. With sacrifices of sheep and fowls which are offered to Amponsa between intervals of forty days.

Q. Does Amponsa kill?

A. It kills anybody who defies its laws but it is also a tutelar god.

Q. What have been the achievements of Amponsa?

A. Any disease which comes to our town is eradicated by the powers of Amponsa.

Q. What are your funeral rites?

A. After the burial of the deceased a day is fixed for the funeral obsequices when donations are received from sympathisers. If any debt acrues from the funeral celebration the successor of the dead man settles it.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. When a young man is of age to marry, and he has saved enough to pay for the "Perodwan mienu" the father considers him to be fully qualified to marry. The father then marries for his son. He performs the "tiri nsa" ceremony after which a day is fixed for the "Atonfole" ceremony. On the ceremony the couple is outdoored. In performing the "tiri nsa" ceremony three holes are dug, amount of salt put into each and palmwine is used to pour libation to the ancestors of the bride. With the following words -

Your grand daughter is marrying
Let her have a successful marriage
Let no evil befall her
Let her have ten children with her husband
Let her not bury any of her children
Long life and prosperity for her and the husband.

The "tiri nsa" ceremony legalises the marriage, and after this ceremony anybody who has an affair with the girl is made to pay damage fees.

Q. Why do you dig three holes?

A. It symbolises the hearth.

Q. How did you go to war in the old days?

A. The chief drank fetish before the Omanhene that he would never desert him in any war. Thus when war broke out the chief summoned all the adult males and sent them to assist the Omanhene.

Q. Who supplied the guns and powder during the wars?

A. The chief supplied the guns and powder.

Q. What weapons did you use in wars prior to the advent of the Europeans?

A. Battons and stones.

Q. During whose reign was gun powder used for the first time?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. What were your sources of revenue?

A. Gold.

Q. Could anybody go to prospect for gold?

A. The land is owned by chiefs, therefore any person who desired to prospect for gold went to ask them. Permission was granted on condition that any amount of gold found was divided into three portions. The chief took one-third and the remainder went to the prospector.

Q. How did you get the tools to dig for gold?

A. Our blacksmiths made them.

Q. How did you get the metals?

A. Our ancestors came to meet them.

Q. Have you heard of Tunsuosim?

A. I have heard of the name but I do not know anything about it.

Q. How did you obtain salt before the arrival of the Europeans?

A. We bought them from the coast.

Q. What goods did you take to the coast?

A. Some went with the gold dust but others went with pots which we made ourselves. We had scales to weigh the gold dusts. When we came back from the coast we sold the coastal goods to people who were unable to travel to the coast. Our medium of exchange was gold.

Q. What route did you take to the coast?

A. We passed through Denkyira. Some of the Denkyira people were good but most of them were bad. They denied us water to drink and some even asked us to fetch firewoods before we cooked. We avoided the houses where the landlords are wicked. The good ones often gave us plantain to cook and often said "travelling is sad indeed". We always went to stay in house where the people were kind.

Q. How did you get sleeping places?

A. We went from house to house and asked for accommodations. We were given "pato" (open places) in which to sleep.

Q. What happened to a traveller who died while on the way to trade?

A. My own brother died in the Denkyira area. When he died the Odikro was informed and some people were sent to inform us of the death. Before we returned he had been buried. We paid the expenses incurred during his burial. We thanked the odikro and his people and brought his load to our town. It was in our town that his funeral rites were performed.

Q. Did you fear any highwaymen on the routes to trade centres?

A. We feared them and as such went in large numbers. One such notorious person was Kwame Abe, a native of Denkyira. We heard that he was finally arrested in the Denkyira area.

Q. Did you go to the north to trade?

A. Our ancestors went there to trade. In the olden days if you had enough money you could go to the north to buy blankets such as Bomo, kasa and others made with cotton wool. We also bought beads from the north. The beads include Holie. We also bought slaves, which we sometimes got in exchange with calico, we usually married the females among them. If you had children with slave woman they belonged to you.

Q. Did you use cowries as medium of exchange?

A. We did not use it here but it was widely used in the north.

Q. Have there been any internal constitutional disputes in your state?

A. No.

Q. Have there been any written records of your traditional history?

A. No.

Panel:

Nana Ackaa - age - 90
Kwame Buo - age - 73
Kwaku Mensah - age - 40
Kwame Nuro -age - 60
Kofi Ka - age - 43.

DEN CHEMUASI

Libation:

Mother Earth (Asase) receive this drink
Almighty God (Nyame Kwame) receive this drink
Since creation there has been progress
It is now the practice to send children to school
Our Sefwi scholars are helping in the development of our state
Today is Thursday
This scholar has been sent from Accra
He travelled in a vehicle
Let him complete his work safely
He has come to listen to our history
He should have cordial reception in every town that he reaches
Let the history of our area be correctly narrated
Let peace reign over this gathering
Nana Damptey help us to say exactly what you had told us
All ancestors here is drink

Refrain: Well spoken.

Q. Nana, to which clan do you belong?

A. Asona.

Q. What other clans do you know of in this town?

A. Aduana.

Q. What is a taboo to your clan?

A. Monkey.

Q. Why is monkey a taboo to your clan?

A. We had a case after eating this animal so we gathered that the monkey might not be eaten again by members of our clan.

Q. How do you respond to greetings?

A. Yaa Asona.

Q. From where did you come to settle here?

A. We migrated from Kyebi (Kibi) in the Akim area.

Q. Why did you migrate from Kyebi to this place.

A. The females in our family could not bring forth children for a long time so we decided to find medicine to make them fertile.

It was in the search for such medicine that we reached here. Our women began to bring forth abundantly after we had settled here.

Q. Who was the leader of the group which came here?

A. Amma Kwame.

Q. How did you come to this place.

A. We walked through the forest.

Q. Whom did you meet when you arrived here?

A. We first came to meet Nana Nkuah Okodom Omanhene of Sefwi district.

Q. What was the relationship between you and the people you met?

A. They received us warmly.

Q. What language were you speaking?

A. We were speaking Twi while Nana Nkua Okodom and his people were speaking Sefwi.

Q. Why did you leave Wiawso to come to this place?

A. There was vast land which was unoccupied. Wars often resulted from land disputes so during one such occasion the Omanhene asked us to fight the Aowins under Ebiri Ampong who were occupying much of present day Sefwi land. We fought and stationed here to ward off any future Aowin attack.

Q. How did Denchemuasye get its name?

A. When we came to settle here there was a river nearby in which we set fishing traps. We used roasted corn which we Sefwis call "Denkyemue" as bait. We always had a good catch and we named the river which later came to be the name of our town "Denkyemasue" as it was the "Denkyemue" (roasted corn) which attracted the fish to come into the net.

Q. Who was the first chief of this town?

A. Nana Amma Kwame.

Q. What was his clan?

A. Asona.

Q. Why is his clan still ruling in this town?

A. After he had defeated the Aowins he founded this town and because of this the town belonged to his clan.

Q. Which states or towns do you share common boundaries with?

A. Bodi, Kwafukaa and Kama.

Q. What has been the relationship between you and the neighbouring towns?

A. It has been peaceful.

Q. Could you give me the names of your past chiefs?

A. Nana Amma Kwame
Nana Suam
Nana Asiedu
Nana Kwame Asante
Nana Korangye
Nana Kwaku Sor
Naha Kwasi Kyeramateng
Nana Kwasi Gyabeng
Nana Kwasi Damptey
Nana Kwame Bianka (destooled)
Nana Kwaku Nkuah (reigning chief)

Q. Why are there many destoolment cases nowadays?

A. In the past the elders were not all that fault-finding and even when they found any fault with the chief it was scarcely revealed. The chief was secretly warned to desist from any such acts. Nowadays chiefs could now be destooled for frivolous reasons.

Q. Which of the chiefs performed a great feat for which he is still remembered?

A. Nana Kyerenateng enriched the stool with gold dust and Nana Kwasi Gyabeng also bought many slaves which later helped to increase the population of this town.

Q. Did you go to war against any other states?

A. We only fought the Aowins.

Q. Which of the chiefs has any appellations?

A. Nana Aseidu "Dadee nsuro egya". This was because of his performances in the Aowin wars. He was likened to a "cutlass which does not fear fire".

Q. What is the oath of this town?

A. "Atipakyee".

Q. Why this oath?

A. Nana Kyerematenng suffered from rhermatism untill he died. It is therefore a recall of the sad death of our great chief if anybody swore by it.

Q. What is the symbol on your state umbrella?

A. Cock. This mean it is the cock and not the hen which should crow to announce daybreak.

Q. What specifically happened which made you use this as a symbol?

A. We were positioned purposely to announce to the Omanhene any invading army. My role therefore like the cock which crows to announce daybreak.

Q. What is your role in this state?

A. I am the Abesehene in the Sefwi state. I have a gib role during the Aluolue festival. I "tie" the festival which cannot take place without being "fastened". This I do by washing the Omanhene after he has been carried to a stream on the eve of the festival. I also bring crab which is hanged around the neck of the Omanhene and later perform the "Asafee" tradition. In this I smear the body of the Omanhene and later the elders and the young ones around with white clay. This is a sign of victory and ceremonies proceed the festival.

Q. Are there any villages under your administration?

A. No.

Q. What are your enstoolment rites?

A. Inheritance is matrilineal but always a brother of the previous chief is first considered.

Q. What god helps you in the administration of this town?

A. Tano.

Q. What has been the achievements of Tano?

A. Nana Yaa Afora fell in a river after which people thought she had been drowned. But later she was found on a tree lying

along the river. While she was being rescued she became possessed by the Tano god who saved her life. When we started worshipping this god, our population has increased and infant mortality reduced.

Q. How do you worship Tano.

A. We worship it with cocks, eggs and sheep.

Q. Does it kill?

A. It kills but not frequently.

Q. What is the symbol on your linguist staff?

A. A bird called "Ansee". This implies that if it is woodpecker alone the pulp tree should havd died to enable him to peck holes into it. Some of the royalists aspire to become chiefs and as such always wish that the occupants die.

Q. Which of the chiefs made this staff?

A. Nana Kwasi Damptey.

Q. What message does your horn sound?

A. It means "Nea otan ne faa oboo we" (He who hates me should eat stones). It goes to say that god would never bless those who hate me.

Q. Who also made this horn?

A. Nana Kwasi Kyerematenq.

Q. What punishment is inflicted on a defaulter of your oath?

A. Any defaulter is fined thirteen shillings (13s.)

Q. What festival do you celebrate in this town?

A. Eluo.

Q. Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. We celebrate the festival to remember the ancestors.

Q. What happens if you fail to celebrate the festival?

A. It is a taboo to fail to celebrate the festival. Any occurrence which hampers its celebration is announced to the ancestors through libation.

Q. What druns do you play during the festival?

A. Twinsini and Fontonfrom.

Q. What message does it impart when the Twinsini drum is beaten?

A. "San behwe w'akyi".

Q. Any significance?

A. This is played to invite our ancestors. to come back to observe that the tradition which they started is still existing.

Q. Which chief created this drum?

A. Nana Kyerematenq.

Q. What do you do during the festivals?

A. We slaughter sheep and smarshed yar for the ancestral stools. We also pour libation to implore the ancestors to continue guiding us.

Q. What are your royal funeral rites?

A. If a chief dies it is kept secret for about a week before he is laid in state. The Oranhene is informed and the drums are played and people sing dirges moving along the streets. The keepers of royal mausoleur take charge of the corpse and later go to bury it in the night. A day is fixed for the obsequies when donations are made by sympathisers.

Q. Why do you keep the death of the chief secret for such a time?

A. The death of a chief brings many problems which need intensive preparations for, so we keep his death a secret to enable us to prepare for the funeral.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. If a child reached marriageable age the father married for him. He would find an appropriate girl for the son and after paying all expenses involved in a marriage ceremony the couple become man and wife.

Q. What do you do to announce to the public that the girl is married to avoid any likely adultery?

A. The "tiri nsa" ceremony and later the "Atonfole" are elaborate enough to inform people about the contracted marriage.

Q. Why was it necessary to marry for your son?

A. In the old days all money gained by a young man was kept by the father but this is not the case at the moment. The father was also responsible for paying adultery fees for any violation by his son on other people's wives.

Q. Why was it necessary to go to work for your in-laws?

A. This consolidated the bond of relationship between the two families. It also prevented possible divorce, since failure to work for your in-laws could make them sabotage the marriage.

Q. How is justice administered in your palace?

A. It never involved big charges. However, if anybody offended the chief he could be ostracised. Generally when cases are brought to my palace the guilty side pays a pacification fee of not more than 13s. But this has presently been changed.

Q. What do you do before judgement is given?

A. My elders and I form the jury. We examine the cases by asking the disputants to present their cases. Witnesses are called if necessary, after which some of the elders go out to consult the "old lady" before they come to give the unanimous judgment of the panel.

Q. Have you any standing army?

A. No. When war is declared I consulted my elders, after which the gong-gong was beaten to summon all the adult males to prepare for the war.

Q. What punishment did you inflict on anybody who refused to go to war?

A. In the old days, he was killed after the war, but sometimes he was ostracised.

Q. How did you fight?

A. We had spies who did reconaissance work and searched for the hide-outs of the enemies. The enemies also had spies and if these opposing forces met the more powerful group would overcome the other.

Q. What role did the women play in the wars?

A. The women perform the "Momong" ceremony. The women smear their bodies with white clay and sang incantations in procession through the streets. They could even go nude while in the procession and it is a taboo for any adult male to watch them.

Q. What weapons did you use in the wars?

A. We used guns.

Q. How did you get guns?

A. We bought guns from the Europeans at Cape Coast.

Q. Could you obtain guns prior to the arrival of the Europeans?

A. We had them from Tunsuosin in Diaso.

Q What was your source of revenue?

A. We mined for gold.

Q. How did you know that gold could be exploited at a particular spot?

A. It happened that in the past small nuggets of gold could be found after a heavy downpour.
This was a means whereby we were able to detect the presence o f gold. Other times we dug various places to find out whether gold could be found there.

Q. Could anybody come here to dig for gold?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the chief also prospect for the gold?

A. The chief could prospect for the gold with his family and his Gyaase. Also if any gold nugget was found by anybody it had to be sent to the chief. If a stranger came to prospect for gold on our land I divided whatever he got int two and he took half of it.

Q. What were your other sources of revenue?

A. Trade.

Q. Where did you trade?

A. We traded at Cape Coast and the Ivory Coast.

Q. What goods did you take to the coast?

A. We took gold dust.

Q. What items did you buy from the coast?

A. We bought tobacco, cutlasses and other needs.

Q. What was the route to the coast?

A. We passed through Denkyira.

Q. What did you do to the goods you bought?

A. We sold some of the goods to our neighbours who could not go to

the coast. We also sent some to the Anyi people of the Ivory Coast.

Q. How did you cross big rivers when you come to them?

A. There were boats on the rivers. The boatsmen charged each person 3 pence for being ferried across.

Q. How long did the journey to and from the coast take?

A. We spent ten days.

Q. What did you do if one of your fellow traders died in a foreign country?

A. We found somebody to carry his load to the coast.

Q. How did you get sleeping places on the way?

A. On reaching any town we went from house to house to search for accommodations. We were usually given "pato" (open spaces) in which to sleep.

Q. Did you pay anything to the householder?

A. No, but we bought plantain and other necessities from him. We also often gave him assorted gifts.

Q. How did you know the monetary value of the gold dust you sent to the coast?

A. We had scales which we used to weigh the gold.

Q. What did you send to the North?

A. Cowries.

Q. What goods did you buy from the north?

A. Cloth such as Bono, kasa and others. We also bought slaves, sheep, fowls and sometimes talismans.

Q. Why did you buy slaves from the north?

A. There was a man called Samori who had many war captives to sell. The wars waged by Samori threatened lives to the extent that some people even offered themselves freely to our people for protection.

Q. What was the identity of Samori?

A. He was a Dagomba.

Q. What did you do to the slaves you bought?

A. We incorporated them into our families. We could even marry the beautiful females among the .

Q. To whom did you perform the customary rites when you decided to marry the slaves?

A. The slave being your own property, there was no need to perform any rites. If anybody had an affair with her, damage fees could be claimed.

Q. Which were the important trading centres in the north?

A. Bondukou and Wa.

Q. Did you trade in kola nuts?

A. Yes. We used kola nuts to buy blankets and even slaves.

Q. Did you fear the presence of any highway men on the way to coast?

A. We feared them and as such went in large numbers.

Q. Could you name any person who became notorious for highway robbery activities?

A. Kwame Abe.

Q. Who was Kwame Abe?

A. He was an Asante.

Q. Why did the chief not beat gong-gong to organise the people to arrest this Kwame Abe?

A. Gong-gongs were beaten to organise search parties for Kwame Abe but because he was always moving about in the forest we could not trace him.

Q. Would you give me the list of your queenmothers?

A. Nana Afua Agyewa
Nana Yaa Afora
Nana Ebenewa
Nana Yaa Atta
) They all died on the stool.

Q. Why have you not installed anybody after the death of Nana Yaa Ataa?

A. A queenmother will be installed soon.

Q. Why are there fewer queenmothers as compared to the chiefs?

A. The institution of installing queenmothers has only been recently adopted.

Q. Have there been any land disputes?

A. Yes. We had one with Bodihene which was settled at Wiawso during the reign of Nana Kwame Tano, Omanhene of Sefwi.

Q. Do you have any ancient sites here?

A. Old Denchemuasue.

Q. Have there been any written records of your traditional history?

A. No.

Panel

Nana Kwaku Nkuah, chief of Denchemuasue, age 76

Opayin Kwadwo Sai, Okyeame, born in 1918.

Opayin Kwadwo Gyabeng Gyasehene, born 1914

Opayin Kofi Akwabeng, born in 1912.

Opayin Anthony Yaw Mensah - age 43,

Opayin Joseph Korankye, 31

Opayin Kwadwo Nkuah, 42.

EDWENASE

Q. What clan do you belong to?
A. Asona.
Q. What other clans do you know in this town?
A. Aduana.
Q. What are the taboos?
A. There is a snake called Asonawoo.
Q. Why do you have this snake as the taboo for your clan?
A. I have been told that one of our elders died when he saw this snake at the top of a tree.
Q. What are the greetings associated with your ntoro?
A. Lson.
Q. From where did you come to settle here?
A. Sefwi Bechema.
Q. Why did you leave from Bechema?
A. The chief of Bechema sent my elder to hunt for him. The hunting hut became a bone of contention between Bechemahene and the Ahafo people. The case was referred to the Asantehene who found my elder guilty. The Bechemahene refused to pay the debt which resulted from the case so my elders decided to leave from Bechema to find money to pay for the debt.
Q. Who was your leader?
A. Nana Koa Payin.
Q. Did you meet anybody here?
A. No. However, the Wiawsohene was settling near here with his people.
Q. What was the relationship between you and the Wiawso people?
A. Peaceful relationship.
Q. How did your town get its name?
A. This place was formally called Kunziniso. Later one we named it after a tree called Edwene under which we first built the town.

Q. How and why did the Asona clan become the royal family?

A. We were autonomous before we left from Bechema. We came with our stool and we also founded this town.

Q. Which states have been your neighbours?

A. Bechema, we do not have any land of our own at this place. We are settling on Nzuozina land. Our land is left at Bechema.

Q. Could you give me the list of the chiefs of your town?

A. Nana Koa Payin
Nana Akyea Kwasi
Nana Kwasi Kwaa
Nana Kwaw Fuachie
Nana Yaw Bukure
Nana Kojo Tufoo - destooled
Nana Yaw Mensah - reigning.

Q. Who was the contemporary king of Nana Koo Payin?

A. The contemporary king of Nana Koa Payin is Ntim Gyakari of Denkyira. The Wiawsohene was Aduhene I.

Q. Did any of the chiefs go to war?

A. Nana Koa Payin went to the Nzima war.

Q. Why did he go to the Nzima war?

A. The Wiawsohene was the son of Kumasihene. Therefore whenever the Kumasihene had any war he asked the son to assit him. Thus when the Nzima war erupted the Kumasihene sent for Wiawsohene. We all therefore backed the Wiawsohene during the war.

Q. Which of the chiefs has done something for the Edewenase town of which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Mensah, who is now reigning. It is during his reign that Edwenase has become large.

Q. What symbol has been placed on your umbrella?

A. Nothing has been placed on it. I have now decided to put something on it.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. The oath is "Kisie kyia", that is, Fateful Monday.

Q. How did this oath come to be adopted?

A. Nana Koa Payin lost both his elder brother and wife on that fateful Monday Hence this oath

Q. What is the main god of your state?

A. Tano.

Q. Why did you not choose any other god apart from Tano?

A. Tano had helped to increase the population of Edwenase.

Q. How is Tano worshipped?

A. Hen and drinks.

Q. What is the penalty associated with your oath?

A. Any defaulter is charged 4s.

Q. What is the symbol on your state sword?

A. One man is eating while the other is looking quietly at him.

Q. What does this symbol mean?

A. It means only the owner of a thing could have access to it.

Q. What is the main festival of your town?

A. Aluolue.

Q. What happens if conditions make it impossible for the celebration of the festival?

A. There is fear of famine and high infant mortality. During such cases we pour libation to tell the ancestors of the misfortune.

Q. What are your funeral ceremonies?

A. When the chief dies, it is not made public for about three days. During such period people are killed to accompany the chief and to serve him in his next world. Musketery is fired, drums are beaten and people sing paeans

Q. Who is entitled to pay the debt of such a funeral?

A. The inheritor to the chief.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. The father marries for the son. Sometimes the father gives niece to the son to marry. The son could suggest to the father that he is grown and therefore he needs a

a wife. The father then asks the son how much money he has. If the boy is able to bring ₵8, the father considers him to be matured and he (the father) then goes to perform the marriage rites.

Q. How is the marriage rite performed?

A. The payment of "tiri nsa" is done with some drinks and salt. Three holes are dug and some of the salt put into the holes. Libation is poured that the couple should have abundant children, stable marriage, wealth and long lives. It is a taboo that the bride eats any of the remaining salt used in this ceremony.

Q. How and why should son-in-laws do services to their wife's mother?

A. In the olden days bridegrooms were expcted to do services to their wife's parents. This practice strenghtens the cordiality between the two families. If the groom refused to do services, such as felling down of trees, the wife could be taken away from him.

Q. What do they mean when people beat the drum?

A. They mean "The day I get you, - Eda mebeya wo.

Q. What does it mean?

A. When somebody offends you, you expect a day to avenge yourself.

Q. Who made this drum?

A. Nana Koa Payin.

Q. How is justice administered in your town?

A. When a person brings a case to my palace the defendant is brought to the palace. Evidences are given and my elders look into the case to give the verdict. Witnesses are given. The guilt pays any debt incurred by the other contestant during the court proceedings. The guilt also gives drinks to the elders to seal the case. Oaths are sworn by the contestants to agree to live in peace.

Q. Did your state have a standing army?

A. No. Drums are beaten to summon all the male adults to the

to the chief's palace. They are told to be ready for war.

Q. What weapons did you use during wars?

A. Gun and powder.

Q. How did you get the guns and powder?

A. We could make our own guns from "kyiben" (atwetwebo). We also went to Kankyiabo to buy guns and powder.

Q. How did you get money in the olden days?

A. We dug for gold. We did trade with the people at the coast and the north of Ghana.

Q. How did Nana get money?

A. In the past, anyone who got a nugget of gold had to send it to the chief. There were also certain days when everybody had to dig gold for Nana. Nana also had his gyaasefoo, wives and children who dug the gold for him.

Q. How did you dig the gold?

A. We used swords made from "kyiben".

Q. What goods did you take to the coast to sell?

A. Gold.

Q. What goods did you buy from the North?

A. Beads like Anigyenema, Eholie and ~~owoman~~ and slaves.

Q. If you wanted to marry any of the slaves to whom did you perform the marriage?

A. We did not perform any marriage rites. If we liked we performed the rites to our brothers. The slave was believed to be our property and we could use it in anyway we liked.

Q. How did you get the slaves?

A. There was a slave raiding activity organised by Samouri. This made slaves available for sale.

Q. Who was Samouri?

A. He was a Nzamarama man (probably a Hausa)

Q. Would you tell me certain important trading towns in the North?

A. No.

Q. What did you buy from the coast?

A. Salt, tobacco and various drinks.

Q. How did you get a place to sleep when you reached any town during your journeys to trade?

A. The leader went from house to house to beg for rooms. We were often given an open room (pato) to sleep.

Q. Did you pay anything to the house owner?

A. No. However, it was obligatory for us to buy plantain from the house owner?

Q. Did you fear of any highway man when you were travelling to the coast?

A. We feared them.

Q. How did you guide yourselves against such people?

A. We went in large numbers.

Q. Could you tell me any notorious highway man whom you know?

A. Kwame Abe.

Q. Where did he come from.

A. I do not know.

Q. Why did Nana not beat gong-gong for people to search for Kwame Abe for his arrest?

A. He had supernatural powers and he could not be found out. If any chief dared to announce that Kwame Abe should be found out he (Kwame Abe) would be furious to go to kill a person from the town where this desire was expressed.

Q. Have you dealt in kola trade before?

A. Yes. We could buy slaves from the north with it.

Q. Have there been any land disputes?

A. No.

Q. Have there been any internal constitutional disputes?

A. No.

Q. Are there any written records of your history?

A. No.

Q. Have you heard of Ebiri Moro?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was he?

A. He was a chief of the Aowins.

Q. Do you know of any rich man who once lived in Sefwi?

A. Ebiri Sika from Bosomoiso and Kwaw Ntori from Ahwia.

PANEL

Nana Mensah, chief of Edwenase, age - 75+
Kwame Kra, Okyeame.
Kofi Gyebi, Okyeame - 45 years.
Kojo Tufoo - ex-chief
Kwaku Tawi - elder
Kwame Gyaben - elder
Afua Gyamfiwa - obaa payin.

ESSAM

Q. What clan do you belong to?
A. Asamankoma.
Q. What other clans do you know in this town?
A. Asona, Agona, Aduana.
Q. What are the taboos of your clan.
A. Sheep.
Q. Why is sheep a taboo to your clan?
A. In the olden days my elder had a pot of gold together with a big sheep. This sheep commited many deeds such as killing people by stamping on them. The Asantehene was informed of this deed, so he asked my elders to compensate people for the outrage committed by the sheep. The entire pot of gold became exhausted and we also had to borrow more money before the debt was defrayed. Consequently upon this my elders instructed that no member of our family should eat sheep.
Q. Who was the elder of your clan?
A. Nana Kwaku Anini.
Q. What are the greetings associated with your ntoro?
A. Ya asona.
Q. From where did you come to settle in this area?
A. Akruw near Akwatia.
Q. Why did you leave Akruw for this place?
A. Nana Aforo Kwaw left Akraw as a traveller.
Q. Did he come alone?
A. Yes. But later on he went for his sister.
Q. Who was your leader?
A. Aforo Kwaw.
Q. Whom did Nana Aforo Kwaw meet when he reached here?
A. He met nobody.
Q. Did you see anything to indicate that people had stayed in this place before?
A. No.
Q. How is your town founded?

A. Essam here was formerly a farm land of Nana Kwaku Kanga who was then living at Sebisa. Later on many people joined him here in his farmstead and the town grew.

Q. Who was the first chief?

A. Nana Kwaku Kanga.

Q. How and why is your clan the royal family?

A. My family was the first to found this town and therefore the owner of the town.

Q. Which states or towns have been your neighbours?

A. Kwambikrom, Yamatwa, Kojoaba.

Q. What has been the relationship between your town and the neighbouring towns?

A. Peaceful relationship.

Q. Could you give me the list of chiefs?

A. Nana Kwaku Kanga
Nana Kwaku Anini
Nana Kwame Koa I
Nana Kwasi Nkrumah
Nana Kwame Koa II
Nana Kwaku Kanga II - reigning.

Q. Which of the chiefs went to war and why did he go to war?

A. Nana Kwame Koa I went to war known as Amoako war against the Ivory Coast. This is because the Ivoriens wanted to claim part of our land We beat them and they retreated. The boundary was drawn during the colonial rule.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. The oath is "Nana Kwaku Anini Korbere".

Q. How did this oath come to be adopted?

A. Nana married a woman who later died. Nana Anini suffered greatly while celebrating the funeral. Hence the oath.

Q. Any appellations of the chief for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Koa I "Adumduro kyen atumduro". He acquired this as an honour for his feat during the Amoako war.

Q. What has been the achievement of any of the chiefs for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Kanga was rich and acquired many slaves to increase the population.

Q. What was the penalty associated with your oath?

A. If two people swear by the oath they are arrested by two Gyaasefoo who fine each 4s. They are later sent to the palace where the cause of swearing the oath is looked into. The case is examined by the elders who form the council. The guilt is fined and compensation collected for the innocent one. The people are later warned not to swear by the oath again and to stop further quarrels.

Q. Which villages and divisions come under you?

A. Yamatwa, Oseikrom, Kwambikrom.

Q. Which functions do these towns do for you?

A. During festivals I call them all to assist me.

Q. What role do they perform during the enstoolment of the Omanhene stool?

A. They do not perform any role. They follow me if I am to go to Omanhene's palace.

Q. What is the rule of succession in your town?

A. Succession is matrilineal. Very often the son of the oldest woman in the royal family is first considered as eligible.

Q. What are the qualities expected of a man before he is chosen as a chief?

A. He should be hard-working, respectful and he should be morally sound.

Q. What is the symbol on your state sword?

A. The symbol is "Apese ye kese a oye ɛɛ dufokyee"

Q. What does this mean?

A. It means however big any person becomes he is accountable for the owner of the Oman or state.

Q. What do they mean when people play the horn?

A. They mean "Nana da **woho so** e!!". I am stationed at the border of Sefwiland and therefore I am reminded to be careful and vigilant
"Nana bere dane" - In the olden days Nananom could buy slaves but nowadays this practice is abolished.

Q. During whose reign was this horn made?

A. During the reign of Nana Kanga.

Q. What type of festival do you have in this town?

A. Aluolue. I celebrate my festival after the Omanhene and Asafo had celebrated theirs.

Q. Why do you celebrate this festival?

A. To give food to our ancestors. If this is not done there is a belief that the ancestors would bring famine and high mortality rate on the entire community.

Q. Do you celebrate Aluolue?

A. Yes.

Q. What are your funeral rites?

A. The death is announced to the entire townspeople. If the person is an elder of the town he is not buried until after three to five days. During this period, paean are sang, people beat drums and drink greatly

Q. What do you do before you put the corpse into the coffin?

A. Yes, clothes are put into the coffin, an amount of 13s (in Sefwi, "Bandeasue") is added as a fare for his journey.

Q. Did you have a standing army?

A. No. Gong-gong is beaten and all male adults are assembled to go to war.

Q. What weapon did you use to go to war?

A. Gun and powder.

Q. Where did you get the gun before the advent of the Europeans?

A. Before the advent of the Europeans batons and stones were used during wars.

Q. Where did you get the cutlasses for war?

A. We could make them from a stone "kyiben" (atwetweboo) This cutlass was called Adere.

Q. Have you any Asafo company?

A. Yes.

Q. What are the taboos of Asafo?

A. Menstruated woman. Any menstruated woman who touches the drum becomes barren.

Q What are your marriage rites?

A. When you have any son who is grown enough to marry the father finds a girl for his son. A symbol of maturity is that the boy should have savings up to £8 (piredwan). The father makes the payment of "tiri nsa".

Q. What ceremony is performed to show that the girl is married?

A. During the "tiri nsa" ceremony three holes are dug. The groom is expected to bring salt. Some of which is put into the holes and libation is poured that the couple should have stable marriage, abundant children, wealth and long lives. After this "tiri nsa" ceremony, another ceremony called "Atonfole" is performed. In this ceremony a Big fufu is prepared and shared among most of the people of the town especially the relatives of the couple. This is a mutual ceremony for the bride also prepares similar big fufu to the husband after a few days that the husband has finished his.

Q. What does the three holes mean?

A. The three holes stand for the "Boakyea" (hearth) on which the woman is going to cook for the husband.

Q. What was the medium of exchange?

A. Shells and gold.

Q. How did you know that an item costs 3d or 6d by using the gold in buying things?

A. The gold was weighed on a scale, 2 pesewas was called "noba".

Q. Could anybody go to dig for gold?

A. Yes.

Q. When you got enough gold did you bring the chief a share?

A. Yes, nobody should dare to hide this from Nana.

Q. What was the route to the coast?

A. Through Denkyira.

Q. How did you get a sleeping place?

A. We went from house to house in quest for a room. We were always given an open room (dan prane).

Q. Did you pay anything to the house owner?

A. No, but on your return journey you buy salt and give it to your house owner We also bought plantain from the house owner.

Q. How did you cross a river?

A. A tree has been fallen on the river along which we walked, also at times there were canoes on the rivers.

Q. Did you pay anything?

A. Yes. We were charged 6d.

Q. What did you do when one of your travellers died on the journey?

A. He was buried and his goods given to somebody to carry. If nobody was found to carry the load, you left it with the chief for another time.

Q. Was there any highwayman on the route to Denkyira?

A. Yes. He was called Kwame Abe.

Q. From where did he come to hide along the route?

A. I do not know specifically.

Q. What goods did you take to the north?

A. Gold and few calico.

Q. Could you make your own cloth prior to the advent of the whiteman?

A. Yes. We could make a cloth called Bofunu (Kyenkyen).

Q. Have you dealt in kola trade?

A. No.

Q. How did you get slaves from the north?

A. Samouri was a warrior who had many slaves to sell.

Q. What articles did you buy from the north?

A. Blanket called Bomo, kasa, nzaa and kyekye, beads and shea butter.

Q. Which places did you specifically get the beads?

A. In fact, nobody knows specifically where the beads are obtained.

Q. What did you do with the slaves you bought from the north?

A. We incorporated them into our family or clans. The women could be married. During such marriage no marriage rite is performed for the woman is the owner's property.

Q. Could the issues from such marriage inherit you since the slave has no family and also since succession is matrilineal?

A. The issues belong to the family but they cannot inherit me. They could be chosen as regents. If any dies on the stool during the period of regency no black stool is made for him.

Q. Have there been any internal constitutional disputes?

A. No

Q. Have there been any land disputes?

A. No.

Q. Have there been any written records of your history?

A. No.

PANEL

Kofi Kanga II - chief of Essam
Yaw Douker - gyasehene, born 1900
Yaw Twum - elder
Yaw Bio - elder
Kofi Badu - elder, 76 years.
Amma Primpona - queenmother.

KESSEKROM

Q. What clan do you belong to?

A. Asona.

Q. From where did you come to stay here?

A. Wenchi in the Bono kingdom.

Q. Why did you leave Wenchi to come here?

A. In the olden days our elder Owusu Akyenpim and our grandmother Nkaa and other people lived in the ground. There was a dispute underground, so Nana Owusu and Nana Nkaa decided to leave the place. They emerged with their followers from a hole in Wenchi. When they came to the land Nana Owusu found that he could not be subject to another chief because he was Omanhene himself. He therefore left Wenchi to find enough land on which to settle They came to the Anhwiaso area When they reached this place some of them wanted them to settle there, but Nana Owusu said that the land was infertile so he was not going to stay there Some of his followers chose to stay on the sandy area and others still followed Nana Owusu to a new settlement. This was how Anhwiaso had its name.

Those who followed Nana Owusu reached a new spot which became Nkkaalayienu (named after Nana Nkaa). The name means "Baabi a Nkaa da awie mu no" (literally where Nkaa lies in the sun).

Nana Nkaa had a daughter called Asobido who was married Nana Bumankama, the then Omanhene of Sefwi Wiawso. They gave birth to a son called Kwame Fuachie.

Nana Afum waged many wars in Denkyira and Nzim areas. There was one occasion when Nana Afum and his troops left for the Ivory Coast for a war. Knowing that Nana Afum was away the Denkyiras planned to plunder Anhwiaso state and take away the stools. Nana Nkaa therefore sent a message to Nana Kwasi Bumankama, his in-law. The later

asked that the stools be brought to Wiawso and so even though the Denkyiras ravaged the Anhwiaso state the stools were secured

Nana Afum hearing the pathetic news declined to come to Sefwi again. The stools were kept in the Wiawso Omanhen's palace till Kwame Fuachie grew old enough to assume leadership. Nana Kwasi Bumankama enstooled Kwame Fuachie, his son as the chief. Kwame Fuachie was very brave and warlike. He once told his father, the Omanhene of Wiawso that he needed somebody to lead him during wars. This post was accordingly offered to Amafie who was near to Nana Kwame Fuachie. Hence the title Twafohene to Amanfie. Nana was also given the title Werempehene. This is how we Wenchi people came to Wiawso state.

Q. Could you remember the name of the war which occurred in Wenchi that induced your elders to migrate?

A. No. The quarrel took place underground.

Q. How did your town get its name?

A. The name of our town was called Nkkalayie. When the stools were brought to Wiawso, Nana Fuachie stayed at the Omanhene's palace to exercise his kingly rights Later he moved from the palace and stayed at a place called Kurodada. Here we found the land to be infertile But there was a man called Kwame Kesse from Bodi who had then founded a small village near our town. Finding the land of our village to be infertile, we decided to join our village with that of Kwame Kesse After the amalgamation the name Kessekrom superimposed on ours and so when anybody was coming to us he said "I am going to Kessekrom". Hence the name of our town Kessekrom.

Q. When you came to stay with Kesse, who became the chief of this amalgmated town and why?

A. We became the chief of Kessekrom. But really it was only the inhabitants of our town who went to stay with Opayin Kesse. Nana Kwame Fuachie was all the while staying at the Omanhene's palace because of the wars.

Q. Is Nana Fuachie's family still the ruling clan of Kessekrom?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the role of Nana Kesse's clan or family in this town.

A. They do not play any significant role Even after the death of Nana Kesse his predecessors left for Bodi and this town is now mainly occupied by the predecessors of Nana Fuachie.

Q. What language were you speaking when you came from Wenchi?

A. Bono.

Q. What is the relationship between the Asona group at Kessekrom and the other group at Wenchi in the Anhwiaso state.

A. There was friendly relationship. But during one occasion some of the elders in Sefwi together with our chief had wanted to destool the Wiawso Omanhene. They were bitterly maltreated and fined by the Wiawso Omanhene for their attitude. As a result some of our elders decided to go back to their ancestral home, Wenchi. A large section of our elders left Wiawso. A change therefore resulted from this dispute between those who left for Wenchi and those who remained at Wiawso.

Q. Could you give me the list of kings?

A. Nana Afum I
Nana Kwame Fuachie
Nana Nkyi Brafoo
Nana Yeboa
Nana Aha I
Nana Afum II
Nana Kojo Anyisa
Nana Ala Kofi - destooled
Nana Kwabina Fuachie - abdicated
Nana Kofi Mintah - destooled
Gyasehene and Kontihene - Regents.

Queenmothers:-

Nana Nkaa
Nana Asobido
Nana Dibrara Adwo
Nana Adwo Kyera
Nana Nkotɔmile
Nana Apenkye
Nana Ndaa Ago
Nana Fiema
Nana Yaa Mansoa
Nana Akua Kyerebia - reigning.

Q. Why did Nana Kwabina Fuachie abdicate the throne?

A. There was a dispute between Nana Fuachie and the Wiawso Omanhene, Nana Kofi Ahenkora. The latter intended to punish the former by putting his foot on his head. Nana Fuachie refused to undergo this humiliation, so he left Kessekrom for Wenchi where he died in less than a month's time.

Q, Which towns have been your neighbours?

A. During the reign of Nana Kwame Fuachie there was a common land between us and Twafohene. That is, both chiefs could use the land equally. Later on when Kwabina Fuachie asked Nana Kofi Ahenkorah the Omanhene to share the land between the two towns, Nana Kofi Ahenkorah refused to divide the land between Amafie (Twafohene) and us but rather gave the land to Amafie. (This was one of the reasons why Nana Kwabina Fuachie left for Wenchi). We were however allowed to use the land

Q. Which of the chiefs went to war?

A. Nana Kwame Fuachie went to fight the Wassa during the reign of Nana Bumakam. Wiawso state was victorious and a land behing Bekwai state was confiscated by Wiawso

Omanhene.

Q. What is the oath of your state?

A. During the destoolment of Nana Kwame Nantwi, Omanhene of Wiawso, guns were fired and some bullets hit Nana Kwame Fuachie's knee. This day was Friday. Although Nana recovered we had an oath "Nana Fuachie Fie da" to commemorate this fateful Friday.

Q. What is the symbol on your leading umbrella?

A. The symbol is a thumb.

Q. What does this mean?

A. If you go to any place with your thumb stretched, the only reward is a slap on the face. We are immigrants in Sefwi and so we must comport ourselves else we shall be repatriated

Q. What do people mean when they blow the horn?

A. They mean "Apue wo mekunu" (in Sefwi). It means when he is irritated he cooly habours the annoyance. There is no external reaction to reveal that he is irritated.

Q. Durimg whose reign was this horn made?

A. Nana Kwame.Fuachie.

Q. What do people mean when they beat the drum?

A. "Kae dabi" - meaning, remember someday.

Q. Why did Nana Kwame Fuachie make this drum?

A. Nana found that his father was proving ungrateful after fighting many wars. He was without land or any other durable property. He made this drum to remind his father what he had done for him.

Q. Which villages or divisions are under you?

A. Aseekrom, Kalo, Bokakro, Kalo and Akyiakyene.

Q. What function do they perform for you?

A. When we are celebrating our festival they are expected to come to partake. When Nana is going to the Omanhene's palace he would also ask them to accompany him.

Q. What are the rules of succession in your town?

A. Before a new chief is enstooled the Ohonenna and the Abusuapayin are informed to choose somebody for us. The towns people are informed and only after their recognition was the new chief publicly announced.

Q. What is the main god of your town?

A. Tano Kojo. Our ancestors brought it along with them from Wenchi.

Q. How is Tano Kojo worshipped?

A. Fowl, eggs and drinks.

Q. Has Tano Kojo a priest?

A. Tano Kojo has a priestess.

Q What has been the main achievements of Tano Kojo?

A. It has helped us to erradicate any epidemic which affected any place; the population therefore has increased.

Q. When don't you go to farm?

A. Thursdays and Saturdays. Thursdays are reserved as sacred days for the Earth and if anybody goes to farm it is believed one is likely to see the Earth and the victim would die. Saturdays too are days reserved for the Great God Sobre and so nobody goes to farm. Sunday is also reserved for the christians.

Q. What are the taboos of Tano?

A. Goats and dog.

Q. What are the penalties associated with your oath?

A. In the olden days any victim was killed. Nowadays the victim is fined 8 shillings. If he fails to pay, he is sent to the Omanhene's palace to be penalised.

Q. What festival is celebrated in your town?

A. Alie.

Q. How is "Alie" celebrated?

A. The celebration of Alie lasts for a week On the first Thursday the women weep in memory of the dead ancestors

It is really a mourning day. Nana provides drinks and people beat drums. Then the women almost naked, sing songs to take procession along the streets. This lasts till about 6 p.m. or 7 p.m. The son is: "Nwatera ya yi yeho adi" etc. This means the people have revealed themselves. After this song had been sang everybody goes to sleep and it is believed if anybody comes out he is bound to see the ghosts of the ancestors.

On Friday a big feast is prepared. Every relative is expected to bring meat and as we pour libation people put the meat in the soup. Fufu is then prepared. This large fufu is carried in dishes and put on shells placed at the end of the town. After this Nana and elders take their seats and women almost naked make processions with songs. This goes on for the whole week

Q. What do you do if anything happens and one could not celebrate this Alie festival?

A. The only occasion when we do not celebrate this festival is when the Wiawso Omanhene fails to celebrate the Aluolue festival. During this time we kill a sheep for the stools and pour libation.

Q. What happens if you fail to celebrate this festival?

A. We celebrate the festival all the time. If we fail to celebrate the festival there is likely to be a fatal mishap on the community.

Q. What are your royal funeral rites?

A. Since Kessekrom is the son of the Omanhene, the latter is immediately informed when the chief dies. Various chiefs are told. Many people are assembled here to join us in mourning. Drums are beaten and dirges are sung. Guns are fired. After about a week the chief is buried. The funeral obsequies are then performed. If any debt arises from the funeral celebration the Omanhene has to pay.

Q. What are your marriage rites?

A. In the olden days the father has to marry for his son. The son must however have some income. The father gets this money and subsidizes it to perform the customary rites such as the "tiri nsa".

Q. What weapons did you use during wars?

A. Gun and powder.

Q. How did you get the guns?

A. The elders could make guns.

Q. How did you get the metal to make the iron?

A. The guns were obtained from Europeans. When the guns got spoiled then the blacksmiths repaired them./ Until the arrival of the Europeans we could not make guns.

Q. Did your state have a standing army?

A. No. When there was any war the gong-gong was beaten and every male adult was expected to go to war.

Q. Did the people without guns have to go to the war?

A. Everybody was expected to go. The fact is that it was not compulsory for everybody to have a gun. Some went with cutlasses while others kept "Ntokuo" (the container of powder and bullets) Such people in a word kept the bullets and the powder.

Q. What was the penalty for the people who refused to go to war?

A. There was no occasion when anyone failed to go to war as requested by the chief. But if anybody failed to go to war he was sent to the chief's house and he was accordingly punished

Q. Have you dug gold in your town before?

A. Yes. During one such occasion one of our chiefs Nana Aha went to gold expedi tion in an area where he settled and later joined by others. This hut became a town to be known as Kwasi Ahakrom. A lot of gold was dug from this land.

Q. Where was the route to Oguaa?

A. Denkyira.

Q. Has there been any blacksmith in your area?

A. I have not heard anything about anybody being a blacksmith

Q. Have you traded with the people of the north?

A. Our elders traded with them but I do not know much about the trade.

Q. Have there been any written records?

A. No.

Q. Have you heard of Ebiri Noro?

A. No.

PANEL

Kofi Tawiah - Gyasehene

Kojo Mukyea - Kontihene

Kwaku Adjei - elder

Kwasi Frimpong - elder.

NZUOZUA

Q. Nana, what is the name of this town.

A. It is called Nzuozua.

Q. Which clan do you belong to?

A. Agona.

Q. Where did you come fromt to settle in Nzuozua?

A. We migrated from Denkyira.

Q. Why did you call your town Nzuozua?

A. When our elders came to settle here there was a river where we collected water. Nana Kwame Kye therefore decided to name the town after the river where we could fetch water. Hence the name Nzuozua.

Q. Who was your leader when coming from Denkyira?

A. I can't remember.

Q. Why did you leave your former place of settlement?

A. Our elders came here through marriage.

Q. Who was the first to settle here?

A. Nana Kwame Kye.

Q. Where did Nana Kwame Kye come from to settle here?

A. He came from Sanyerano.

Q. Who did Nana Kwaku Kye meet on his arrival here?

A. Nana Kwaku Kye met Saliahu, Paboase, Futa, Akoti.

Q. What language did the people speak?

A. They spoke Sefwi.

Q. When Nana settled here, was there any indication that people had settled at this place before?

A. No.

Q. How did Agona clan become the royal family?

A. It was because our ancestor Nana Eluo panin was the first to settle here.

Q. Do you want to say that Eluo panin led your people to this place?

A. No.

Q. Where were they staying?

A. Saliahu.

Q. Why did Nana rule over those he met at this place?

A. Nana Kwame Kye is the head of the royal family and so all the neighbouring villages are ruled by him.

Q. Are the people part of the Agona family?

A. Yes.

Q. Is the Agona clan still the ruling family?

A. Yes.

Q. Which towns or states have been your neighbours?

A. Our neighbours are Anhwiaso and Asante.

Q. What has been the relationship between your state and the neighbours?

A. There was formally a dispute with Anhwiaso. The case is settled and we were fo nd to be innocent.

Q. Who was the king during the settlement of the case with Anhwiaso?

A. The Nzuozua chief was Nana Kwame Kye and the chief of Anhwiaso was Nana Kofi Adjei.

Q. Where was the case settled?

A. It was settled at Sekondi High Court.

Q. What was the cause of the dispute?

A. It was a land dispute.

Q. Could you give the list of kings?

A. Kwame Kye
Adu Kwabena (destooled)
Kofi Nguronji
Kwame Gyapong
Adu Kwabena
Kofi Mintaa (destooled)
Kwame Kwakye
Yaw Donfe (destooled)
Kojo Tufoo (destooled)
Kofi Sor - reigning.

Q. Nana, when were you on the stool?

A. That was from 1945 - 1950.

Q. Which of the chiefs went to war?

A. Nana Eluo panin.

Q. Against which people did he fight?

A. He fought the Nzima.

Q. Why did you fight the Nzima?

A. I do not really know.

Q. Which faction won the war?

A. The Sefwis were victorious.

Q. Who was the Omanhene of Sefwi?

A. Nana Nkua.

Q. Which of the chiefs participated in other great event apart from war?

A. Nana Kwame Kye.

Q. Any appellations of the king for which he is best remembered?

A. Nana Yaw Fuachie. He was the first to found this village.

Q. Why were the chiefs destooled?

A. It might be because the chief had embezzled the town's funds or it might be because the chief had been harassing the citizens.

Q. What is the oath of your town?

A. The oath is "Adonse".

Q. How did it come to be adopted?

A. My grandfather, Nana Kwame Kye was sent for by the Omanhene. When the emissary returned to Omanhene he alleged that Nana Kwame Kye had insulted the Omanhene. Nana was summoned to Omanhene's palace where he was handcuffed. We, the Sefwis call the handcuff "Adonse". After Nana had settled the case he returned home and adopted this as his oath for the remembrance of that fateful day when he was handcuffed.

Q. What are the penalties associated with this oath?

A. Any defaulter was initially fined 4/- and after the case had been settled the guilty was fined "Esuandoma" i.e. £2 8s.

Q. If anybody proved recalcitrant and failed to pay the fine what do you do?

A. Such a person is sent to Wiawso.

Q. What symbol has been placed on the leading umbrella?

A. Nothing has been placed on it.

Q. What is expressed when people beat the "Twinisini" (drum)?

A. They mean "Papa Enkye na ebinom wirefi".

Q. During whose reign was this drum made?

A. Nana Kwame Kye.

Q. Why did he make this drum?

A. Nana had brought up many people but they failed to reward him.

Q. What symbol has been placed on the leading state sword?

A. The symbol is "Nea owo nadee na odi".

Q. During whose reign was this state sword made?

A. Nana Kwame Kye.

Q. Why did Nana Kwame Kye make this state sword?

A. This was because Nana was always troubled by people from outside this clan. Hence he adopted this proverb.

Q. What is the role of your king in the government of Wiawso State?

A. Kyidomhene.

Q. Who are the wing chiefs under Kyidomhene?

A. Asawinsohene, Essakrom, Awuinso Akoti, Paboase; Eteeso.

Q. Are they still under you?

A. No, Asanwinso and Essakrom chiefs have been upgraded to Safohene. They are no longer under us.

Q. In the olden days what function did they perform for you?

A. They accompanied me to Wiawso whenever I was called by the Omanhene. Whenever any revenue was accrued from their land the wing chiefs had to bring it to me. They were my subjects and I would ask them to do whatever I wanted. Nowadays when any money is accrued from the land, it is

sent directly to Omanhene and he in turn calls Kyidomhene for his share.

Q. Which is better when the two systems are compared?

A. The present system is better.

Q. What role does Kyidomhene play when a new chief is being enstooled?

A. He has no specific function to perform. He acts according to unanimous decisions. This is also true when a king is destooled.

Q. What is the rule of succession in this town?

A. Matrilineal.

Q. When anybody dies who is first considered in the family?

A. The elder is always chosen.

Q. What are the qualities befitting a chief?

A. The person should be hardworking, and of good conduct.

Q. What are the main gods of your town?

A. The main god is called Kofi Nimo.

Q. How did you get Kofi Nimo?

A. I do not really know from where our elders got Kofi Nimo.

Q. When do you worship Kofi Nimo?

A. Wednesday.

Q. What has been the main achievement of Kofi Nimo?

A. It has helped to reduce infant mortality.

Q. Do you send it to war?

A. No.

Q. What are the taboos of Kofi Nimo?

A. On Wednesday nobody goes to farm. Another taboo is Antelope.

Q. Has it a priest or priestess?

A. It had one in the olden days but now nobody is interested to become the priest.

Q. Do you have a festival?

A. Is called Aluolue.

Q. What do you do during Aluolue?

A. Sheep is killed for the stools. Libation is poured. We drink and all the citizens meet to make merry

Q. What is the chief prohibited to do when the festival has not been celebrated?

A. The chief is prohibited to eat water yam (Afasee).

Q. Why do you celebrate the festival?

A. It is celebrated to remember our ancestors. The libation we pour is:

Come and get drinks, Nananom
Let us live long to uphold your good name
Give us abundant children.
Let us be wealthy etc.

Q. Is there any time when you fail to celebrate Alualue?

A. No. The worst will be to pour libation and tell the ancestors of the misfortunes.

Q. What do you do when the Omanhene is celebrating the Aluolue?

A. I give drinks for libation to be poured.

Q. How do you celebrate the funeral of a chief in your town?

A. The Omanhene is informed of the death of any chief. He sends a delegation to help in burying the chief.

Q. Who pays the debt of such a funeral celebration?

A. The inheritor is entitled to pay.

Q. Do you have any songs in praise of the dead chief.

A. Yes.

Q. How do you remember past events?

A. We ask the elders and they narrate the history to us.

Q. Do you have any standing army?

A. No. During war gong gong is beaten and the people are assembled.

Q. What do you use during wars?

A. Guns and powder.

Q. Do you provide the guns and powder?

A. The chief provides powder but the gun is provided by the people themselves.

Q. Where did you get the gun?

A. We had them from the coast.

Q. Do yo u play Asafo?

A. In the olden days we had Asafo company but is now non-existent.

Q. How did Nana get money to finance the administration?

A. Gold was dug from the ground.

Q. What share of the gold was given to the chief?

A. When any gold nugget was extracted it was sent to the chief. He in turn often rewarded the person who brought it.

Q. Was everybody entitled to bring the gold to the chief?

A. No. But everybody was entitled to bring something to the chief.

Q. What proportion of the money was the chief supposed to spend?

A. In the olden days the chief would use all the money brought to him.

Q. Where did you buy gun and salt?

A. Tanoso.

Q. In the olden days when you were going to the coast where did you pass?

A. We passed through Denkyira and Assin Kingdoms.

Q. Did yo u pay any tax by passing through a different kingdom?

A. No.

Q. Did you pay anything when youu crossed any river?

A. Yes. Usually we were charged 6d.

Q. Who was entitled to claim the benefit when such an amount was collected?

A. The owner of the land. Very often the Omanhene or the local chief.

Q. How did you get a resting place when you reached any town outside your kingdom?

A. We went from house to house and begged for a sleeping place.

Q. Do you pay anything to the house owner?

A. No. Butt on your return journey you could buy, say, tobacco, as a gift to him.

Q. How did you eat?

A. We bought our own food usually from the house owner.

Q. What did you buy from the coast?

A. Salt, clothes and tobacco.

Q. How did you trade?

A. There was no market. Articles were either kept in the house or carried on the head for the people to come to buy.

Q. When a trader died in your house, what did you do?

A. I informed the Omanhene and later buried him.

Q. What did you do with his load?

A. If the relatives of the deceased did not come the load was shared between the chief and the house owner.

Q. How did you farm before the arrival of the Europeans?

A. We used a cutlass called Adere.

Q. Do you know of any rich man who lived in this area?

A. There was a man called Kwaw Mtori from Ahwia.

Q. How did the chief elevate any man whose hard work had made him rich into the ruling class?

A. The chief could appoint him an Okyeame (linguist).

Q. Did you make any black stool for such a person when he died?

A. Yes. A black stool would be made and his stool became hereditary if there were people in his family.

Q. Do you know an ancient town called Nkakani?

A. It was at Wiawso area.

Q. Has there been any written records?

A. No.

Q. Which beads were considered the most important?

A. Owo mma, Abea, Amankwaatia.

Q. For what did you use these beads?

A. When any woman was sick . the bead was ground and her entire body was smeared with it. She recovered when this was done. Also during initiation of puberty period, girls were adorned with such beads.

Q. What goods did you buy from the North?

A. Blankets such as Bumo, Kasa and etc., slaves.

Q. What did you do with the slaves?

A. The slaves became your subjects who worked for you. They also belonged to your family.

Q. Could you marry any if there was a female?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you perform any rite?

A. No.

Q. Did you fine anybody for adultery if he had an affair with the woman?

A. Nobody would attempt that. But if anybody did I had the fine to fine him. I bought the slave with my own goods.

Q. Could the children you have with your slave wife inherit you?

A. Yes.

Q. Could a slave child become one of the royalists and so be enstooled as a chief?

A. No.

Q. Could any slave child who had become prosperous be enstooled if the royalists proved useless and therefore unfit?

A. Such a slave born would be asked to rule as a regent till a fitting royalist was ready to rule.

Q. When the regent died, did you make a black stool for him?

A. No.

Q. How did your son marry?

A. The father married for his son. The child was entitled to work for me.

Q. How did you name children?

A. The child is named after one of the ancestors or the father.

PANEL

Kofi Mintah - sub-chief
Kwasi Akaa
Kofi Afuro
Kwame Msie
Kwasi Amah
Yaw Ackaa - Abusua payin
Akua Fia - Queenmother.

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